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ABSTRACT

This is one of a four-volume series intended to improve students' (grade 6-adult) critical thinking through evaluation of conflicting viewpoints of United States history. Each lesson is a self-contained problem that can be integrated at any point in a corresponding history unit. The book represents both analytical and narrative history. Unit One offers a guide to critical thinking with exercises to develop differing types of skills. Unit Two has nine lessons dealing with the United States as a world power. Unit Three focuses seven lessons on the 1920s and the New Deal. Unit Four contains six lessons that examine foreign policy since 1945. Unit Five contains seven lessons about modern American society and politics. (EH)

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CRITICAL THINKING IN
UNITED STATES HISTORY SERIES

BOOK FOUR

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
to VIETNAM WAR

KEVIN O'REILLY

CRITICAL THINKING PRESS
& SOFTWARE

SO 028 937

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EVALUATING VIEWPOINTS:
CRITICAL THINKING IN UNITED STATES HISTORY SERIES

BOOK FOUR

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
TO
VIETNAM WAR

KEVIN O'REILLY

SERIES TITLES:
BOOK 1–COLONIES TO CONSTITUTION
BOOK 2–NEW REPUBLIC TO CIVIL WAR
BOOK 3–RECONSTRUCTION TO PROGRESSIVISM
BOOK 4–SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR TO VIETNAM WAR

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FOR

Mom and Dad and
Helen and Charlie

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INTRODUCTION

Thinking is what history is all about, as we try to more fully understand our past and thereby ourselves. We don't have many answers in history. Instead, we search for the truth, always attempting to get closer to what really happened. This book is meant to give you a taste of the excitement of historical interpretation and debate. It is also meant to give you guidance in learning the skills necessary to evaluate conflicting viewpoints. The goal is to empower you, as citizens in a democratic society, to make decisions for yourself regarding what you read, see, or hear about the issues of tomorrow—issues where there are few easy answers, and where reasonable people disagree.

This book is about historical interpretations or viewpoints. It is not itself a history book, but rather a series of situations on which historians present differing opinions. The purpose of this book is to teach you how to analyze and evaluate historical arguments.

If you think of a social, political, or economic issue today, you'll realize that people approach problems with different viewpoints. For example, reasonable people disagree about how much money should be spent on social welfare programs, about how to fight crime, and about the best candidate in an election. Historians also disagree about many events in history. Just as there are different ways to tell a fictional story, so there are many ways to tell the story of history. Historians, depending upon their backgrounds and frames of reference, select different information as important or unimportant.

The root word of history is story. As a "story," history seeks to explain past events. Why did a particular event happen when it did? How did a particular person or group of people affect the world around them? What underlying forces shaped events? Good historians have taken the time to step back, to carefully examine events to see the whole picture more clearly, to explain events more fully, and, thereby, to help our understanding of the world.

There are two broad kinds of history: analytical and narrative. In analytical history a historian makes a strong argument about an issue. The thesis is obvious, and the rest of the interpretation consists of a series of arguments to support the thesis. You probably have written thesis/support arguments in your English or social studies classes.

The second kind of history is narrative. Here, the historian tells a story, usually in chronological order. The various elements of the situation—economic forces, technological changes, social institutions, personalities, and so forth—are brought together as the drama unfolds. The main argument or thesis is not always obvious in narrative history. It has to be inferred from the way the story is told. Nevertheless, narrative history also contains a point of view or a thesis about why events happened the way they did.

This book presents both analytical and narrative history. For example, the interpretations on American Imperialism in Lesson 7 are narrative; the interpretations in Lesson 8 are analytical; most are a combination of both.

One of the most important goals of this book is to introduce you to the conflicting viewpoints or interpretations of history. Ideally, you would read the actual books containing the historical interpretations of events, some of which are listed on pages 167–170. Realistically, you don't have the time to read all of these historical works. So this book contains short summaries of the interpretations. In some cases 300-page books have been summarized into one or two pages. Since this isn't fair to the original historians, their names have been replaced by titles: Historian A, Historian B, and so forth.

In some lessons the viewpoints are entitled Interpretation A or Theory A, rather than Historian A. Interpretation or Theory is used when no particular historian is identified with that point of view. These terms are also used to convey the idea that you should be forming your own interpretations or theories. The dictionary defines interpretation as "an explanation of what is not immediately plain or obvious," and it defines theory as "a judgment based on evidence or analysis." Ask your science teacher how the term *theory* is defined in science.

While most arguments presented in this book are those expressed by historians, a few are from historical participants. Thus, there are arguments by Lenin on the economy (Lesson 7) and the Supreme Court justices in *Brown vs. Board of Education* (Lesson 26).

This student book is comprised of three components:

Guide to Critical Thinking explains the parts of an argument and how to evaluate those parts.

Worksheets provide practice in the skills necessary for evaluating and constructing arguments.

Historical interpretation problems provide the opportunity for you to analyze historical arguments and make up your own mind.

Lessons within the book are arranged into four units: World Power (Lessons 1–9), 1920s and the New Deal (Lessons 10–16), Foreign Policy Since 1945 (Lessons 17–22), and Modern American Society and Politics (Lessons 23–29).

Fifteen of the lessons (#1–5, 10–12, 17–19, and 23–26) are short worksheet lessons which focus on practicing particular skills. The other fourteen lessons (#6–9, 13–16, 20–22, and 27–29) are longer historical interpretation problems where the skills can be applied.

UNIT 1

GUIDE TO CRITICAL THINKING

Purpose of This Unit

This Guide is meant to help you improve your critical thinking skills. Critical thinking, as used in this book, means evaluating or judging arguments. The critical thinker asks, "Why should I believe this?" or "How do I know this is true?" Just as importantly, critical thinking means constructing good arguments. Here, the critical thinker asks, "Why do I believe this?" and "Do I have a logical, well-supported case to back up my claims?"

As mentioned in the Introduction to this text, you are going to be confronted in this book with opposing viewpoints. You will have to decide for yourself which are stronger and which are weaker. This Guide will help you with the critical thinking skills necessary to judge the viewpoints presented and to express your own verbal and written views on topics.

Historians use critical thinking skills constantly in evaluating the reliability of documents, in selecting what is important, and in determining the underlying causes for events. But critical thinking is useful in everyday life as well. It is called for in such situations as buying a car, watching the news, voting, or deciding on a job or career. Improved skills in this area will help you make better judgments more often.

You can get an overall picture of critical thinking by reading through this Guide. You will find it most useful, however, when you need to use a particular skill in a particular lesson. For example, the section on evaluating **Generalizations** will be useful in Lesson 9, which asks several questions on recognizing and drawing good generalizations.

When Is an Argument Not a Fight?

An *argument* or interpretation, as used in this Guide, refers to presenting a conclusion and defending it with reasons that logically lead to the conclusion. You will have to decide for yourself how strong each argument is. A *case* is a set of arguments. The strength of a case may be judged by examining individual arguments. Arguments or interpretations may include any or all of the following components.

• Assertions • Evidence • Reasoning •
• Assumptions • Values•

Keep the importance of words in mind as you look through the following pages. Words are the keys to arguments. Signal words like "but," "however," and "on the other hand" indicate a change of direction in an argument. Words will serve as your clues in identifying parts of an argument and, once the argument has been identified, they will serve as your keys in analyzing the strength of that argument.

Once you recognize an argument, you will want to analyze it. You will break it down into its respective parts and evaluate the elements against certain standards of excellence in reasoning and evidence. You will examine the assumptions to see if they are warranted. You will consider how the author's values shape the evidence and reasoning presented.

Assertions

An assertion is a statement, conclusion, main point, or claim concerning an issue, person, or idea. It can be the conclusion of a very short argument, or it can be the main point (thesis) of an argument of perhaps two or more paragraphs.

For example, consider the short argument, "Bob is very responsible, so I'm sure he'll show up." The conclusion (assertion) in the argument is the phrase "...so I'm sure he'll show up." (The part of the argument that isn't the conclusion ["Bob is very responsible,..."] is called the premise. Premises are assumptions or reasons offered to support a conclusion. See the section on **Assumptions**, pages 15–16.)

IDENTIFYING ASSERTIONS

Words that often cue an assertion or conclusion include "therefore," "then," "so," and "thus." You can also identify an assertion by asking yourself, "What is the author trying to prove? Of what is the author trying to convince me?"

EVALUATING ASSERTIONS

Two important questions to ask to evaluate the overall assertion of an argument are:

- Is the assertion supported by good reasons (supporting arguments)?
- Are the reasons supported by evidence?

Evidence

Evidence consists of the information a person uses to support assertions. It is the data, information, and knowledge which a historian, social scientist, or any communicator uses to support an argument; it is not the argument or interpretation itself.

There are many sources of evidence. Some of the more common sources include statements by witnesses or other people, written documents, objects, photographs, and video recordings. Lack of sources for evidence seriously weakens an argument. That is why many historical works include footnotes to cite sources; that is also why you should cite sources in essays you write.

For example, historians studying a Civil War battle could gather written accounts of the battle from sources such as diaries, battle reports, and letters. They could examine objects that had been found on the battlefield and photographs taken at the time of the battle. They also might use accounts by other historians, but these would be weaker sources because they are not eyewitness accounts (see primary sources below).

IDENTIFYING EVIDENCE

To help locate evidence in an argument, look for endnotes, quotation marks, or such words as "according to," "so-and-so said," or "such-and-such shows."

The initial questions to be asked when evaluating any evidence offered in support of an argument should be:

- Is there a source given for this information?
- If so, what is it?

EVALUATING EVIDENCE

Only when you know the sources of evidence can you judge how reliable the evidence actually is. Frequently, you can use the following evaluation method when considering evidence and its sources. This can be shortened to **PROP**; remember that good sources will "prop up" evidence.

P Is it a primary (eyewitness) or secondary (not an eyewitness) source?

Primary sources are invariably more desirable. To reach valid conclusions, you need to realize the importance of primary sources and gather as many as possible to use as evidence in an argument. You should depend on secondary sources, like encyclopedias or history texts, only when primary sources are unavailable.

R If the source is a person, does he or she have any reason to distort the evidence?

Would those giving the statement, writing the document, recording the audio (or video), or identifying the object benefit if the truth were distorted, covered up, falsified, sensationalized, or manipulated? Witnesses with no reason to distort the evidence are more desirable than those who might benefit from a particular presentation of the evidence.

O Are there other witnesses, statements, recordings, or evidence which report the same data, information, or knowledge?

Having other evidence verify the initial evidence strengthens the argument.

P Is it a public or private statement?

If the person making the statement of evidence knew or intended that other people should hear it, then it is a public statement. A private statement may be judged more accurate because it was probably said in confidence and is, therefore, more likely to reflect the speaker's true feelings or observations.

These four factors (**PROP**) will be enough to evaluate most evidence you encounter. Additional factors that are sometimes considered regarding evidence include:

Witnesses

- What are the frames of reference (points of view) of the witnesses? What are their values? What are their backgrounds?
- Are the witnesses expert (recognized authorities) on what they saw?
- Did the witnesses believe their statements could be checked? (If I believe you can check my story with other witnesses, I am more likely to tell the truth.)
- Was what the witnesses said an observation ("Maria smiled") or an inference ("Maria was happy")? Inferences are judgments that can reveal much about the witnesses' points of view or motives (reasons) for making statements.

Observation Conditions

- Were physical conditions conducive to witnessing the event? (Was it foggy? Noisy? Dark?)
- What were the physical locations of the witnesses in relation to the event? Were they close to the action? Was there anything blocking their view?

Witnesses' Statement or Document

- Is the document authentic or a forgery?
- What is the reputation of the source containing the document?
- How soon after the event was the statement made?
- Did the witnesses use precise techniques or tools to report or record the event? For example, did they take notes or use reference points?

Reasoning

Just as evidence can be judged for its reliability, so reasoning can be evaluated for its logic.

Reasoning is the logical process through which a person reaches conclusions. For example, you notice that the car is in the driveway (evidence) so you reason that your mother is home (conclusion). Five kinds of reasoning are frequently used in historical interpretations:

- cause and effect
- comparison
- generalization
- proof (by evidence, example, or authority)
- debating (eliminating alternatives)

These types of reasoning, along with questions to help evaluate them and fallacies (errors in reasoning) for each, are explained below.

Reasoning by Cause and Effect

This type of reasoning is used when someone argues that something caused, brought about, or will result in something else. For example, Laura's motorcycle will not start (effect), so she decides it must be out of gas (proposed cause).

Causation is very complex—so complex that some historians feel that they do not really understand the causes of an event even after years of study. Other historians do not even use the word cause; instead they talk about change. Please keep a sense of humility when you study causation. When you finish your course, you are not going to know all the causes of complex events. Rather, you are going to know a little bit more about how to sort out causes.

Historians believe in multiple causation, that is, that every event has several or many causes. This belief does not, however, relieve us of the responsibility of trying to figure out which are the most important causes. Indeed, one of the most frequent sources of debate among historians stems from disagreements over the main causes of events.

IDENTIFYING CAUSE-AND-EFFECT REASONING

One way to identify cause-and-effect reasoning is to watch for such cue words as "caused," "led to," "forced," "because," "brought about," "resulted in," or "reason for." You can also identify it by asking, "Is the author arguing that one thing resulted from another?"

EVALUATING CAUSE-AND-EFFECT REASONING

Several important questions may be used to evaluate the strength of a causal explanation.

- Is there a **reasonable connection** between the cause and the effect? Does the arguer state the connection?

  In the motorcycle example, for instance, there is a reasonable connection between the motorcycle being out of gas and not starting. Lack of gasoline would cause a motorcycle not to start.

- Might there be **other possible causes** for this effect? Has the arguer eliminated these as possible causes?

  There are also, however, other possible causes for a motorcycle failing to start. Maybe the starter isn't working. Other possible causes have not been eliminated.

- Might there be **important previous causes** that led to the proposed cause?

  In some cases a previous cause might be more important than the proposed cause; e.g., a leak in the gasoline tank might cause a motorcycle to be out of gasoline. In this case simply putting gasoline in the tank will not make the engine run again.

Cause-and-Effect Fallacies

Single cause

Any conclusion that a historical event had but one cause commits the single-cause fallacy. For example, the statements "Eloise married Jon because he's handsome" and "Antiwar protest caused the United States to pull out of the Vietnam War" both make use of the single-cause fallacy.

In both cases there are likely to be other factors, or causes, involved. The fallacy can be avoided by carefully investigating and explaining the complexity of causes. Be careful, however. Historians may sometimes assert that something "caused" an event when they really mean it was the main, not the only, cause.

Preceding event as cause

A Latin phrase (*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*), meaning "after this, therefore because of this," is the technical name of a fallacy that occurs when someone assumes that because event B happened after event A, A caused B. "I washed my car, so naturally it rained" and "Since the Depression followed the stock market crash of 1929, the stock market crash must have caused it" are both examples of this fallacy. To avoid the error, the author of the argument must explain how A caused B.

Correlation as cause

This fallacy occurs when a conclusion is reached that because A and B occurred at the same time or occur regularly at the same time (the correlation), then one caused the other.

Some correlations, such as cigarette smoking and increased incidence of heart disease, are very strong. Others are not as strong. In some correlations where A is argued to cause B, ask yourself if B could instead have caused A. For example, "Students who have fewer absences (A) achieve higher grades in school (B)." In this case, consideration might also be given to the correlation that "Students who achieve higher grades in school (B) have fewer absences (A)."

Again, the fallacy might be avoided by an explanation of how A caused B. Since, however, a connection cannot always be shown, people are frequently forced to rely on correlations. For example, you don't have to know, mechanically, *how* a car works to know that turning the ignition should cause it to start.

False scenario

This fallacy uses the argument that if something had happened, then something else would have happened (or if something had not happened, then something else would not have happened). "If you hadn't told Mother on me, I wouldn't be in trouble" is an example of false-scenario reasoning. "If we had not built railroads in the late 1800s, the United States would not have had as much economic growth as it did with the railroads" is another.

Although some of this kind of predicting can occur when we have a great deal of evidence regarding what might have happened, it is generally much less certain than causal reasoning about what actually did happen. To avoid this fallacy, concern yourself with what actually happened rather than what might have happened.

Reasoning by Comparison

This type of reasoning, sometimes called "reasoning by analogy," consists of two basic types, both of which involve drawing comparisons between two cases.

Alike comparison

The first type of comparison chooses two cases (people, events, objects, etc.) and reasons that since they are alike in some ways, they will be alike in some other way. For example, Joe might reason that Fernandez did all his homework and got an "A" in geometry, so if Joe does all of his homework he can also get an "A." Joe is reasoning that since the two cases (his and Fernandez's) are similar in terms of homework (doing it all), they will be similar in terms of outcome (an "A").

Difference comparison

The second type compares two cases and reasons that since they are different in some respect, something must be true. For example, Juan might reason that his baseball team is better than Cleon's, since Juan's team won more games. Juan is concluding that since the two cases (teams) are different in some respect (one team won more games), it is true that the team that won the most games is a better team.

If Joe and Fernandez are taking the same course (geometry), and have the same mathematical ability and the same teacher, then the conclusion that the outcome would be the same is stronger than it would be if they were different in any or all of these areas. If the two baseball teams played the same opponents and the same number of games, then the conclusion that one team is better (different) than the other is stronger than it would be if they were different in any of these ways.

Usually, more similarities make a stronger argument. A similarity found in an argument of difference, however, will weaken the argument. If the two baseball teams had the same winning percentage, then the conclusion that one was better (different) than the other would be weakened by this similarity.

As another example of a difference comparison, examine the argument: "The federal budget deficit increased from $800 billion three years ago to $912 billion this year. We've got to do something about it before it destroys our economy." What if the federal budget deficit were 4% of the Gross National

Product (the measure of goods and services produced in a year) three years ago and 4% this year also? Here, a similarity found between the deficits of the two years being compared weakens the conclusion that the federal budget deficit is getting worse. Thus, differences weaken arguments comparing similarities, and similarities weaken arguments comparing differences.

IDENTIFYING COMPARISON REASONING

Cue words can help identify comparisons. Watch for such comparative terms as "like," "similar to," "same as," "greater (or less) than," "better (or worse) than," and "increased (or decreased)." Some comparisons, however, are implied rather than stated. For example, someone might say, "Oh, I wouldn't travel by plane. It's too dangerous." You might ask "dangerous compared to what?" If a higher percentage of people are injured or killed using alternate methods of travel (automobiles, trains), then the statement is weakened considerably.

In examining comparisons, ask yourself:

- How are the cases similar; how are they different?

EVALUATING COMPARISON REASONING

This skill involves *evaluating comparison arguments*. It is not the same activity as "compare and contrast," where you are asked to find the similarities and differences between two items; i.e., "Compare and contrast the American and French Revolutions." In evaluating comparison arguments you, on your own, are to recognize that a comparison argument is being made and, without being told, ask about the similarities and differences of the two cases being compared.

Reasoning by Generalization

This kind of reasoning includes both definitional and statistical generalizations. The generalization, "No U.S. senator is under 25 years of age" is an example of a *definitional generalization*, since by legal definition, a United States senator must be at least 25 years of age.

Statistical generalization is important to evaluating historical arguments. Statistical generalizations argue that what is true for some (part or sample) of a group (such as wars, women, or songs) will be true in roughly the same way for all of the group. For example, Maribeth might argue that since the bite of pizza she took (sample) is cold, the whole pizza (the whole group) is cold.

Statistical generalizations can be further subdivided into two types. *Hard generalizations* are those applied to all (or none) of the members of a group, e.g., the whole cold pizza above, or a statement like "All the apples have fallen off the tree." A hard generalization is disproved by one counterexample (contrary case). For example, if there is one apple still on the tree, the generalization is disproved.

Soft generalizations are those applied to most (or few) members of a group, e.g., "Most people remember the Vietnam War." A soft generalization is not disproved by one—or even several—contrary cases, but the generalization is weakened as the contrary cases add up. For example, if someone says that Luis does not remember the Vietnam War, the generalization is not disproved. If, however, that person cites fifty people who do not remember the Vietnam War, the generalization is getting shaky.

The probability that a statistical generalization is correct increases with the size of the sample and the degree to which a sample is representative of the whole group. Your generalization that "Nella is prompt" is more likely to be accurate if she was on time on all twenty occasions when she was supposed to meet you than if she was on time the only time she was supposed to meet you.

Representativeness is even more important than size in generalizations. In the pizza example the sample is quite small (only one bite from the whole pizza) but very representative—if one part of the pizza is cold, it is highly likely that the whole pizza is cold. Similarly, presidential election polls are small (about 1200 people polled) but usually very accurate, since those sampled are quite representative of the whole electorate. If you think of the whole group of voters as a circle, a presidential election poll might look like Figure 1.

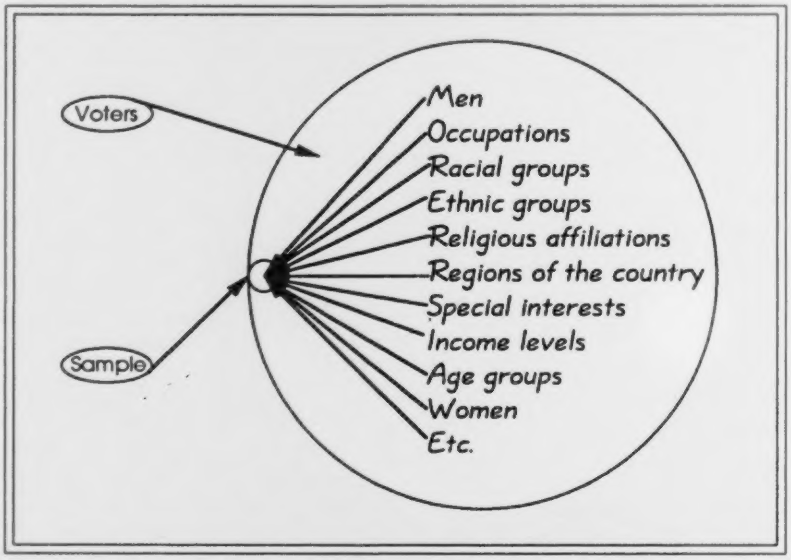

Figure 1. The sample should represent all these groups of voters (and many more) in the same proportion as they make up the whole electorate.

IDENTIFYING GENERALIZATIONS

You can recognize statistical generalizations by watching for their cue words ("all," "none," "some," "most," "a majority," "few") or plural nouns ("women," "farmers," or "people").

EVALUATING GENERALIZATIONS

Questions you should ask when evaluating generalizations include the following.

- How large is the sample?

  The strength of a statistical generalization is improved by larger sized sampling.
- How representative is the sample?

  If you picture the generalization as a little circle and a big circle, as in Figure 1, the question becomes: Does the little circle have all the same subgroups in the same proportion as the big circle?

You should not, however, be concerned only with evaluating generalizations that other people make. You should also be concerned with how far you can legitimately generalize from what you know.

For example, if you learned that slaves on ten large cotton plantations in Maryland in the 1850s were brutally treated, you might generalize that slaves on most large cotton plantations in Maryland at that time were brutally treated. You would be on much shakier ground, however, to generalize that slaves on most plantations were brutally treated at all times. You really have no information about slaves on, say, small Virginia tobacco plantations in the 1720s, so you shouldn't make such a broad generalization. The warning is, "Do not overgeneralize."

Generalization Fallacies

Hasty generalization

This fallacy consists of a general conclusion based on an inappropriately small or unrepresentative sample. For example, suppose a reporter polls three people in Illinois, all of whom say they support gun control. If the reporter concludes that all (or even most) people in Illinois support gun control, then he or she is making a hasty generalization.

This fallacy includes such oversimplifications as "If it weren't for bankers, we wouldn't have wars." To avoid such fallacies, remember that any group (such as people, wars, or depressions) is quite complex and must be carefully sampled to take those complexities into account.

Composition and division (stereotyping)

These two related fallacies confuse the characteristics of the group and the characteristics of the individuals within that group. In composition, the characteristics of the individual(s) within the group are ascribed (given) to the whole group. ("She's a good lawyer, so the law firm she is a member of must be a good firm.") In division, characteristics that belong to the group as a whole are assumed to belong to each of the individuals. ("She's a member of a good law firm, so she must be a good lawyer.")

These fallacies are commonly referred to as *stereotyping*, which is defined as "applying preconceived ideas to a group or members of a group." This results in the groups or individuals being judged before we really know them. This act of prejudging is where we derive the word *prejudice*. "You're Jewish, so you must be well educated" and "Of course he's a drinker, he's Irish!" are examples of stereotype statements.

Special pleading

In this fallacy the arguer presents a conclusion based on information favorable to the argument while ignoring unfavorable information. ("Mom, I should be able to go to the dance. I passed my history test and got an 'A' in math." [...omitting the information that I failed science and English.]) A good argument avoids this fallacy by including unfavorable information and overcoming it with compelling reasons for accepting the thesis or conclusion.

Reasoning by Proof (evidence, example, or authority)

These types of reasoning concern whether or not the evidence or authority used supports the point being argued. It does not concern the strengths and weakness of the evidence itself (see the **Evidence** section of the Guide). Similarly, the word "proof" as used here does not mean absolute proof—as in mathematics—but rather refers to methods used to support an argument or interpretation.

This is generally a legitimate method of supporting an argument. For example, a doctor might be called to testify in court to support the argument that a claimant had certain injuries (proof by authority). A biologist might explain the results of several investigations (example), cite evidence gathered (evidence), and quote the written opinions of several experts (authority) to support an argument on the effects of toxic waste.

IDENTIFYING PROOF REASONING

Proof reasoning can be identified by cue words such as "for example," "for instance," "according to," "authority," and "expert." When evaluating argument by proof, you should look at the answers to several questions:

EVALUATING PROOF

Evidence

- Does the evidence prove the point being argued? Does it support the point under consideration?

Examples

- Are the examples pertinent to the argument?

Authority

- Is this person an expert on this particular topic? What are the qualifications of the authority? Are they presented?
- Do other authorities agree with these conclusions? Are there any authorities who disagree with the conclusion? Are counterarguments acknowledged and/or refuted?

Fallacies of Proof

Irrelevant proof

Arguments which present compelling evidence that does not apply to the argument in question are fallacies of irrelevant proof. For example, "If you flunk me, I'll lose my scholarship" and "Everyone else does it" are fallacies of irrelevant proof. As a further example, suppose Senator Smith is accused of taking bribes to vote for certain laws and, in his defense, presents a great deal of evidence that shows he is a good family man. This evidence does not concern his actions as a senator and is thus irrelevant to the charges. Good arguments avoid this fallacy by sticking to the issue under question.

Negative proof

This fallacy type presents a conclusion based on the lack or absence of evidence to the contrary. For example, "There is no evidence that Senator Macklem is an honest woman, so it's obvious she is a crook" or "Since you haven't proven that there is no Santa Claus, there must be one." Remember that you must present evidence to **support** your conclusions when you are making a case.

Prevalent proof

Related to the fallacy of negative proof, this fallacy concludes that something must be the case because "everyone knows" it is the case. Such arguments as "Everyone knows she's a winner" and "Politicians can't be trusted; everyone knows that" are examples of the prevalent proof fallacy. Remember, in previous times "everyone knew" that the sun revolved around the earth! The critical thinker sometimes asks questions even about things which everyone knows.

Numbers

A conclusion that the argument is right solely because of the great amount of evidence gathered commits the fallacy of numbers. For example, "We checked hundreds of thousands of government records, so our theory must be right."

Notice that no mention is made of what the "government records" contained—the argument only states that they were "checked." A great deal of evidence can be amassed to support a slanted perspective or an argument using poor reasoning or faulty assumptions. When constructing arguments, check them not only for strong evidence but also for sound reasoning and assumptions.

Appeal to authority

A conclusion that is based only on the statement of an expert commits the appeal-to-authority fallacy. Such arguments conclude, "I'm right because I'm an expert" and lack additional supporting evidence. For example, the argument "It must be true because it says so right here in the book" is based only on the "authority" of the book's author. Arguments must be judged on the strength of their evidence and their reasoning rather than solely on the authority of their authors.

Appeal to the golden mean

This logical fallacy is committed when the argument is made that the conclusion is right because it is moderate (between the extreme views). If someone argued, "Some people say Adolf Hitler was right in what he did, while others say he was one of the most evil leaders in history. These views are so extreme that a more moderate view must be right. He must have been an average leader," he or she would be appealing to the golden mean. (Of course, the "extreme" view that Hitler was evil is right in this case.)

This fallacy can be avoided by realizing that there is no reason for an extreme view to be wrong simply because it is extreme. At one time it was considered "extreme" to think that women should vote or that people would fly.

Reasoning by Debate (eliminating alternatives)

Reasoning by debate helps a person see why one interpretation should be believed over other interpretations and puts an interpretation into a context. It is not surprising, therefore, that articles in historical journals frequently begin by a survey of other interpretations of the topic under study and an attempt to refute opposing interpretations.

This type of reasoning advances an argument by referring to and attempting to show the weaknesses of alternative interpretations. This attempt to disprove, called debating, is not only acceptable, but desirable. For example, someone might argue, "Peter thinks Mi-Ling will get the lead role in the play, but he's wrong. Lucetta has a better voice and more acting experience, so she'll get the lead." A historian might argue, "Although the traditional view is that slavery is the main cause of the Civil War, people who hold that view are wrong. Economic problems, especially over the tariff, were the main cause of the bloody war." Both are applying reasoning by debate.

IDENTIFYING DEBATES

Cue words for this type of reasoning include "other people believe," "the traditional view is," "other views are wrong because," "older interpretations," and "other viewpoints are."

EVALUATING DEBATES

To help evaluate debate reasoning, ask questions like the following.

- Have all reasonable alternatives been considered? Have they all been eliminated as possibilities?
- Does this author attack the other views in a fair way?
- What might the authors of the other views say in response to this argument?

In eliminating possible alternatives, the author must be careful to attack the argument rather than the arguer, to present reasoned evidence against the argument, and to fairly interpret the alternative argument under consideration. This form of questioning can also be helpful when there is a lack of information.

Fallacies of Debate

Either-or

This fallacy presents a conclusion that since A and B were the only possible explanations—and since A was not possible, B is proven to be the explanation. For example, "Only Willis and Cross were around, but Willis was swimming so Cross must have done it." What if someone else was actually around but no one saw him or her?

Of course, eliminating alternatives can be very important to reasoning a problem through, as Sherlock Holmes demonstrates so well. But one must be careful to ask: Have all alternatives been eliminated? Could it be both alternatives? Don't let yourself be "boxed in" by this type of reasoning.

Attacking the arguer

(In logical terminology, this is called *ad hominem*–Latin for "to the man.") This fallacy occurs when statements are directed at the person making the argument rather than at the arguments presented. For example, the statement "No one should listen to what Mrs. Rouge says. She's a Communist" is an attack on Mrs. Rouge personally rather than on the statement she made.

Sometimes the attack is more subtle, such as a look of disgust, a negative comment ("I don't believe you just said that"), or sarcastic laughter. Good arguments avoid this fallacy by refuting the argument, not the person.

Straw man

This is the technique of attacking the opponents' argument by adding to or changing what a person said, then attacking the additions or changes. For example, Johannas says he's opposed to capital punishment, and Thibedeau replies, "People like you who oppose punishing criminals make me sick." (Johannas did not say he opposed punishing criminals.) When constructing an argument, remember to be fair and argue against what your opponents said, not your version of what they said.

There are many methods of trying to prove something. The types of reasoning explained above (cause and effect; comparisons; generalizations; proof by evidence, example, or authority; and debate) are all methods of proof to be considered when evaluating historical arguments. The next section examines assumptions, which are like reasoning in that they lead to conclusions (assertions). They are different from reasoning, however, in that they are not always consciously argued. Authors frequently do not realize the assumptions they are making.

Assumptions

An assumption is the part of an argument containing the ideas or opinions that the arguer takes for granted. Stated assumptions are not of concern for the purposes of this Guide. When authors say they are assuming something, all you decide is whether you agree with the stated assumption.

Unstated assumptions are more difficult to recognize. There are two types of unstated assumptions: the general, more encompassing type and the specific type.

GENERAL UNSTATED ASSUMPTIONS

These assumptions are part of the argument as a whole and, as such, cannot be identified by rewriting particular arguments. In any argument there are an infinite number of such assumptions. For example, if you say you are going to the store to buy a TV, you are making the general assumptions that the store will be there, that you won't die on the way, that they'll have televisions in stock, and so forth. Some assumptions are trivial or unlikely, but others are very important. For example, if the President of the United States says, "We will not agree to the Soviet proposal to have both countries eliminate half of their missiles because we cannot check on them adequately," he is assuming the Soviets cannot be trusted. If, on the other hand, the President agreed to missile reductions without a means of verifying Soviet reductions, he would then be assuming the Soviets can be trusted. He might or might not be right in either case. The important point is that we should recognize his assumption.

General assumptions shape historical interpretations. A historian who assumes that economics drives people's behavior will select economic information and write from that perspective; a historian who assumes that politics, in the form of power and compromise, shapes society will focus on that area in both research and writing.

SPECIFIC UNSTATED ASSUMPTIONS

To understand specific unstated assumptions you need to know something about the form of arguments. As was explained in the section on **Assertions**, arguments are made up of the conclusion and the rest of the argument, which is designed to prove the conclusion. The sentences that comprise the rest of the argument are called *premises*.

Short arguments take the form of *premise, premise, conclusion*. A well-known example is: "Socrates is a man. All men are mortal. Therefore, Socrates is mortal." In premise, premise, conclusion format, this would be:

Premise:	Socrates is a man.
Premise:	All men are mortal.
Conclusion:	Therefore, Socrates is mortal.

If the above argument "looks funny," it's because people rarely talk this way. In normal speech, we often state the conclusion first: "I should be able to go outside now. My homework is done." It is also common to not state one of the premises or the conclusion at all. For example, if we are trying to decide who should pay for the broken vase, you might say, "Well, Joaquin pushed me into it." Your point (although you did not state it) is that Joaquin should pay.

When you leave out a premise, you are making an assumption. For example, the argument "We should spend our vacation in the mountains because we need a rest," can be rewritten this way:

Premise:	We need a rest.
Premise:	??
Conclusion:	(Therefore) we should spend our vacation in the mountains.

The missing premise is the assumption.

IDENTIFYING ASSUMPTIONS

You can figure out what the assumption is by asking, "What has to be true for this conclusion to be true?" In the above case, the missing premise (assumption) is: "The mountains are a good place to rest."

EVALUATING ASSUMPTIONS

When you have identified an assumption, evaluate it by asking if the assumption is correct. Assumptions are frequently related to the beliefs and values of the author, as explained in the next section.

Values

Values are conditions that the person making an argument believes are important, worthwhile, or intrinsically good for themselves, their family, their country, and their world. Money, success, friendship, love, health, peace, power, freedom, and equality are examples of things people may value.

It is often important to discover the underlying values of the author of an argument, since assumptions made by an author are often related to the author's beliefs and values. This will help you understand why the viewpoint is argued the way it is, and, in cases where your values may be different from the author's values, it will help you understand why you might disagree with the argument. For example, if you believe that peace is more important than demonstrating power, then you are going to disagree with an argument which says that since Country A increased its power by attacking Country B; it was right to attack.

IDENTIFYING VALUE STATEMENTS

Clues to an author's value judgments are found in sentences containing words such as "good," "bad," "right," "wrong," "justified," "should," or "should not." For example, if someone says "The United States was wrong (value judgment) to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima because so many people were killed," that person is saying that life (value) is more important than the other conditions or values involved (power, peace vs. war, etc.).

To help identify an author's values, ask:

- Who wrote this?
- What beliefs does this person hold?

When you have identified a value judgment in an argument, you can then examine it. For example, consider the argument, "We should have capital punishment because criminals will commit fewer crimes if they think they might be executed."

EVALUATING VALUE STATEMENTS

1. *Separate the argument into its factual and value parts.*
   Factual part:
      Capital punishment will make criminals commit fewer crimes. (Notice that this could be investigated by examining statistics on the number of crimes with and without capital punishment.)
   Value assumption:
      Fewer crimes is good (a desirable outcome).
2. *Rephrase the value statement into general terms.*
      Anything (general term) which causes fewer crimes is good (value judgment).
3. *Ask yourself if the value statement is right in all instances.*
      Is the statement, "Anything which causes fewer crimes is good" true? Can you think of cases in which you might not agree? Substitute some specific situations and see if the statement is still right. For example, "Jailing all people accused of a crime, whether found guilty or not, would also cause fewer crimes to be committed. Should we do this?"

This kind of questioning will help both you and the person who originally made the claim think more fully about the value(s) behind the claim.

Three general questions can be used to test the worthiness of value claims.

- Are you willing to use this value in all situations?
- What would society be like if everyone believed and acted on this value?
- Would you want the value applied to you?

The next page contains two charts you may find helpful for reminding you of methods you can use to analyze the viewpoints presented in this book. As you proceed, refer to this "Guide to Critical Thinking" to help you with the lessons.

A MODEL FOR ANALYZING ARGUMENTS

A model is a way of organizing information. One type of model is an acronym where each letter in the model stands for a word. The model outlined here is **ARMEAR**. Each letter will remind you of a part of arguments to examine.

A	Author	• Who wrote this interpretation and why? • What are the author's values or beliefs? • What can you learn about the author?
R	Relevant Information	• What do you know about the topic being argued or topics related to it?
M	Main Point	• What is the main point or thesis of the argument?
E	Evidence	• What evidence is presented to support the argument? • How reliable is it? • What are the sources of the evidence?
A	Assumptions	• What assumptions does the author make?
R	Reasoning	• What reasoning is used in the argument? Cause and effect? Comparison? Generalization? Proof? Debate? • How strong is the reasoning?

FIVE MAIN PARTS OF AN ARGUMENT

Assertion, main point, or thesis	• What is the author trying to prove?
Evidence	• Is the source given for information? • How strong is it? Primary? Reason to distort? Other evidence to verify? Public or private? (**PROP**).
Reasoning	• Cause and Effect — Is the connection shown? Are there other possible causes? Is there an important cause previous to the one proposed? • Comparisons — How are the two cases different and how are they similar? • Generalizations — How large and representative is the sample? • Proof — Does the evidence support the point being made? How many examples are given? Is this authority an expert on this topic? • Debate — Does the author attack other views in a fair way? Have all possible alternatives been eliminated?
Assumptions	• What must be true if the thesis is true (acceptable)?
Values	• Do I agree with these values? • Is this value position right in all instances?

UNIT 2
UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER

LESSON 1 Identifying and Evaluating Sources

Identifying Sources

One question we need to ask about any claim is whether a source is offered in support of it.

Q Label each item below with the appropriate letter.

S A **source** of information is given.
N **No** source of information is given.

______1. I think the movie "Roger Rabbit" is worth seeing. Both Megan and Pedro said they liked it.

______2. I checked their report cards, and ten of these students did not do well in chemistry last year. They have no business being in physics this year.

______3. The United States should not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. Each country should settle its own problems.

______4. China was one of the weakest countries in the world in the late 1800s. Just look at her humiliating defeat in the Sino-Japanese War.

______5. Some Americans in the 1890s supported expansion for economic reasons. For example, Senator Albert Beveridge, in a speech delivered in Indianapolis, September 16, 1898, said we should expand into other countries to market our excess goods.

______6. In the late 1800s many Americans wanted a strong navy.

Primary Sources

A primary source is evidence (often written) given by a person who was part of, or present at, the event reported. A primary source may also be an object that was part of the event.

To determine the type of source, ask yourself:
- **Were the people doing the reporting part of the event?**
- **Did they see the event on which they are reporting?**

If so, it is a primary source.

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Q Label each item below with the appropriate letter.

P The source is a **primary** source.
S The source is a **secondary** source.

______7. Bob said he heard that the new 10th grade student is a good baseball player.

______8. Rachel said the movie got a great review in the newspaper.

______9. In his book *The New Empire* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1963) Walter La Feber said that America's expansion in the 1890s was partly due to the surplus goods produced by the Industrial Revolution.

_____10. President McKinley stated in a magazine interview in 1903 that, while he was praying for guidance from God, he decided the United States should keep control of the Philippines.

_____11. President Wilson, in an address to Congress on April 19, 1916, said that unless Germany stopped sinking passenger and freight ships immediately, the United States would be forced to break diplomatic relations with Germany.

_____12. Thomas Bailey, in *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: Appleton, 1964), described British and German violations of American neutral rights in 1914 and 1915 and American reactions to those violations.

Reason to Lie

People have a reason to lie if their statements help their own interests (for example, when they make more money) or make themselves or their group look good. People generally have no reason to lie if their statements make themselves look bad or their enemy look good.

When questioning the truthfulness of a source, ask yourself:

- Does the statement make the speaker (or group) look good?
- Does the statement further or improve the interests of the speaker (or the group)?

If so, then the source has a reason to lie.

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Label each item below with the appropriate letter.

R The person has a **reason** to lie.
N The person has **no** reason to lie.

_____13. Linda admitted she stole the gloves.

_____14. Henry's pipe was found at the scene of the crime. (Does the pipe have a reason to lie?)

_____15. William Jennings Bryan said in a speech that he opposed the United States taking over new lands, such as the Philippines, because the Bible emphasized love, not power and imperialism.

_____16. Woodrow Wilson said in Congress on April 2, 1917, "It is a fearful thing to lead these great, peaceful people into war....But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy..., for the rights and liberties of small nations...and [to] make the world itself at last free."

_____17. On January 19, 1917, German Foreign Secretary Alfred Zimmermann sent a secret note to the German minister (diplomat) in Mexico. This note proposed a German-Mexican alliance against the United States if the United States did not remain neutral in World War I. It also told the minister to keep the proposal in the strictest secrecy.

_____18. Historian Howard Beale has said that a large navy was an important part of expansionist policies in the late 1800s.

LESSON 2 Evaluating Evidence

Evaluate the Sources

Q Evaluate the following pieces of evidence by listing strengths and weaknesses of each. If you need help, refer to the section on **Evidence** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1).

1. We are trying to determine if American leaders were interested in the Philippines (which was a Spanish colony) when the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898. We find a secret cable signed by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, dated just before war was declared. The cable tells Commodore Dewey, Roosevelt's friend, to be ready to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines in case war is declared.

   STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

2. In *The National Experience* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1981), historian John Blum says that in 1902 President Theodore Roosevelt was anxious to build a canal through Panama (a region of Columbia). Blum says Roosevelt was angry when Columbia rejected the United States offer to buy the land, and let it be known that he would be in favor of a Panamanian revolution. According to Blum, Roosevelt helped the Panamanian revolutionists become independent of Columbia so the new country would allow the United States to build the canal.

   STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

3. We want to know if the United States entered World War I primarily to further its economic interests. We find a secret note dated September 6, 1915, sent by Secretary of State Robert Lansing to President Wilson. In the note, Lansing says that loaning Britain and France money would help America's balance of

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trade and the economy in general. (We already have evidence that the loans caused other problems which led to America's entry into the war.)

STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

Q Choose the most reliable piece of evidence for each item, then explain your choice in the space provided.

4. Which document would be most reliable in assessing why the United States entered World War I?

_____A. Woodrow Wilson's message to Congress declaring war

_____B. The 1930 memoirs of Colonel House (an advisor to Wilson) explaining Wilson's motives

_____C. A memo from the State Department to President Wilson listing the pros and cons of declaring war

_____D. A memo from Wilson to Colonel House explaining why he was going to declare war.

Explain your choice.

5. Which document would be most reliable in assessing why Germany declared war on Russia in July 1914?

_____A. The public war declaration by Kaiser Wilhelm (Germany's leader)

_____B. The secretary's notes of a meeting between Wilhelm and his advisers to decide whether to declare war

_____C. A German newspaper editorial from July 1914 on why Germany declared war

_____D. A speech by Czar Nicholas of Russia on why Germany declared war on Russia

Explain your choice.

LESSON 3 Determining Causes and Effects

Cause-and-effect reasoning argues that something caused, led to, or brought about something else.

Label each item below with the appropriate letter.

C Item illustrates **cause-and-effect** reasoning.

N Item does **not** illustrate cause-and-effect reasoning.

For those items that you identify as cause and effect, write the cause and the effect in the space provided.

_______1. Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan argued in 1890 that sea power made and kept nations great.

CAUSE: EFFECT:

_______2. In 1893 American settlers in Hawaii overthrew the Queen and put in a pro-American government. The settlers did this to make Hawaii part of the United States.

CAUSE: EFFECT:

_______3. Henry Cabot Lodge wanted a large navy and American expansion into Hawaii, Panama, the Caribbean Islands, and even Greenland.

CAUSE: EFFECT:

_______4. The 1898 war with Spain lasted only a few months but cost the United States $250 million.

CAUSE: EFFECT:

[Continued on next page.]

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______5. The Platt Amendment became a permanent treaty between the United States and Cuba in 1903.

CAUSE: EFFECT:

______6. President Theodore Roosevelt's foreign affairs motto was, "speak softly and carry a big stick."

CAUSE: EFFECT:

Q For each of the following situations, think of as many possible causes as you can, then evaluate the strength of the explanation given.

7. Why are some people attractive? List at least four reasons.

"For that attractive look, try new Sunbaked Jeans."

a. How strong do you think the above explanation is?

b. Support your opinion.

8. Why might a leader from one country negotiate a settlement between two other warring countries? List as many reasons you can.

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"President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated a settlement in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 to prevent Japan from crushing Russia and thereby becoming more dominant in Asia."

a. How strong do you think the above explanation is?

b. Support your opinion.

9. Why might the defenders, rather than the attackers, have the advantage in a war? List as many reasons as you can.

"In World War I the defense had the advantage due to the machine gun, which wiped out attackers in large numbers."

a. How strong do you think the above explanation is?

b. Support your opinion.

LESSON 4 Assessing Cause-and-Effect Reasoning

Identifying Cause-and-Effect Connections

The section on **Cause-and-Effect Reasoning** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1) tells you that one question you should ask of any cause-and-effect argument is "Is there a connection between the cause and the effect?" This part of the lesson focuses on identifying that connection.

In April of 1898, the United States declared war on Spain. In the 1890s the Cubans had revolted against their colonial masters, the Spanish, who had used some harsh methods in their attempt to put down the rebellion. Although historians disagree as to how important it was, the Cuban situation was a factor in the American decision to go to war. Historians have advanced several theories as to the main cause of the United States declaration of war. One theory proposed that the "yellow press" (exaggerated and sensationalized stories in American newspapers) was the primary reason.

Q Below are three historical arguments which all say that the yellow press was the main cause. Decide which of the three arguments is strongest and explain why. Pay particular attention to the connection between the proposed cause and the effect.

Historian A

The main cause of the Spanish-American War was the yellow press. These penny newspapers competed for city readers so they could sell more advertising. This was especially true in New York City, where the papers owned by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer were in fierce competition. Each paper tried to outdo the other in printing the gruesome details of the Cuban revolution. As a result, the American public became sympathetic to the rebels, and the United States declared war to help the Cubans against the Spanish.

Historian B

The main cause of the Spanish-American War was the yellow press. These newspapers, which competed for readers, often exaggerated and distorted the situation in Cuba. As William Randolph Hearst said to an artist in 1898, "You furnish the pictures; I'll furnish the war." Millions of Americans were influenced by the newspapers. With the 1898 elections approaching, both the Congress and President McKinley were quite aware of the public sentiment to protect the Cubans by declaring war with Spain.

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Historian C

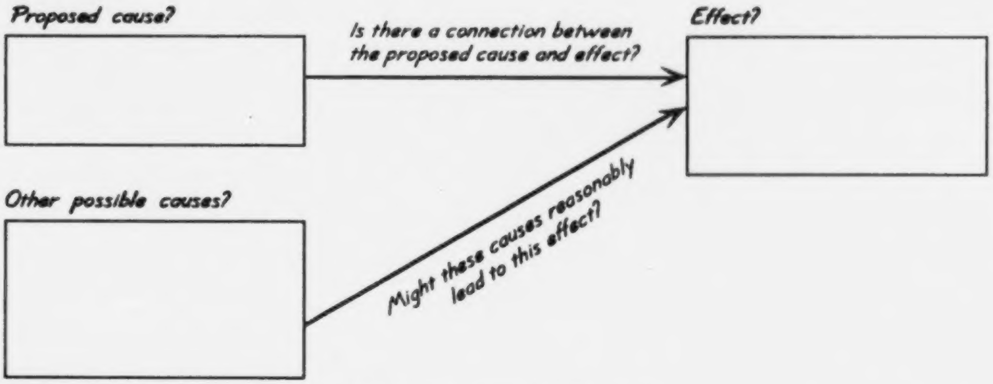
The main cause of the Spanish-American War was the yellow press. These newspapers exaggerated the situation in Cuba. For example, the *New York World* declared, "The horrors of the barbarous struggle [by the Spanish] for the extermination [destruction] of the native population [Cubans] are witnessed in all parts of the country." The papers also printed graphic drawings of the Cuban revolution. With such distortions in the papers, the country could not help but be pushed into war.

1. Which of the three arguments is strongest? Why do you think so? (Remember, this question is essentially asking "Which argument makes the strongest connection between the cause and the effect?")

Evaluating Cause-and-Effect Arguments

Q Fill in the diagram for each cause-and-effect argument below, then use the information in the diagram to evaluate the strength of the argument.

2. The woman's rent was raised by $50 per month, so she had to get a second, part-time job.


Proposed cause?
Is there a connection between the proposed cause and effect?
Effect?
Other possible causes?
Might these causes reasonably lead to this effect?

How strong is this argument? Why do you think so?

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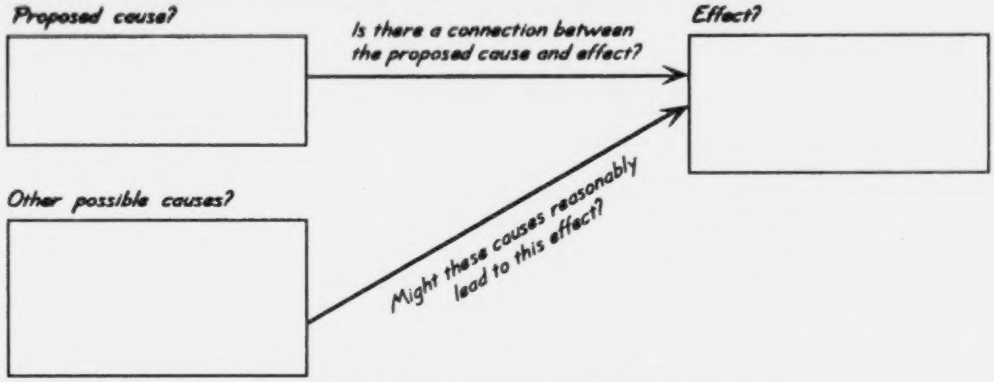
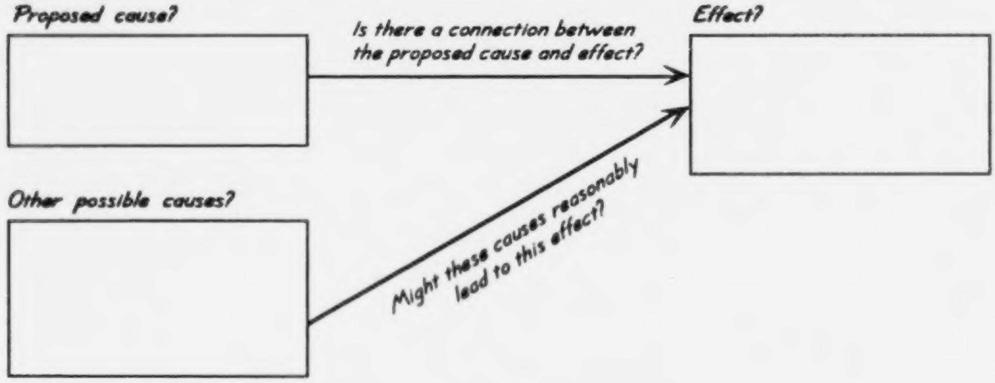
3. The United States wanted to build a canal in Central America to help the American Navy and to improve trade. Columbia would not agree to sell the land needed to build the canal at the price the United States offered. This led to America's support for the Panamanian revolution against Columbia (Panama was a region in Columbia at the time), in hopes that the new country (Panama) would allow the United States to build the canal.


Proposed cause?
Is there a connection between the proposed cause and effect?
Effect?
Other possible causes?
Might these causes reasonably lead to this effect?

How strong is this argument? Why do you think so?

4. Many Chinese resented the way they were treated by foreigners in China in the late 1800s. These Chinese joined the Boxers, a secret anti-foreigner society, and staged a rebellion in 1900 to throw out the "foreign devils."


Proposed cause?
Is there a connection between the proposed cause and effect?
Effect?
Other possible causes?
Might these causes reasonably lead to this effect?

How strong is this argument? Why do you think so?

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LESSON 5 Analyzing Generalizations

Identifying Generalizations

Refer to the section on **Generalization** pages 8–11 in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1) for help. Pay special attention to the cue words for identifying generalizations.

Q Label each item below with the appropriate letter.

G The item involves a **generalization**.
N The item does **not** involve a generalization.

_______1. Yushi took her car in to be fixed about a week after the accident.

_______2. We do not have any male cheerleaders at our school.

_______3. Everyone in our family is left-handed.

_______4. Most Americans supported United States entry into World War I.

_______5. President McKinley decided in April 1898 to ask for a declaration of war against Spain.

Evaluating Generalizations

The key question for evaluating generalizations is:

- How large and representative is the sample?

Q The sample taken should have the same subgroups in the same proportions as the whole population. Use these considerations to evaluate each generalization below.

6. Team members have to dress up on game days. Otherwise, boys rarely, if ever, wear a dress shirt and tie to school.

How strong is this generalization? Why do you think so?

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7. **A June 1989 telephone survey of 1005 randomly selected adults showed that 54% could name the judge on the "People's Court" television show, while only 9% could name the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.** Most Americans know more about television judges than about the real Supreme Court judges.

   How strong is this generalization? Why do you think so?

8. Many Americans were saddened and angered that the United States was involved in fighting over—and taking land in—other areas of the world during 1898 and the following years. They were especially upset that the United States was fighting the Filipinos.

   How strong is this generalization? Why do you think so?

9. In the 1916 election Woodrow Wilson campaigned on the platform that he had kept the United States out of war while protecting America's neutral rights. Wilson received about 9,129,000 of the popular votes to 8,538,000 for the Republican candidate, Charles Evans Hughes. Wilson also won the electoral college, 277 to 254, when he carried California by a mere 4000 votes.

   How strong is this generalization? Why do you think so?

LESSON 6

Why Did President McKinley Ask for a Declaration of War against Spain in April 1898?

On April 11, 1898, President McKinley addressed Congress to ask for a declaration of war against Spain. This lesson presents two viewpoints of why he did this.

Historian A

(1) The Spanish-American War was a key event in American imperialism. As such, it is important to understand how the United States became involved in the war. It is clear from the records left to us that President McKinley was pushed into the war by jingoists (militaristic patriots who frequently want war) and the press. The President did not really want war, but he was too weak-willed to stand up against the popular demand for military action.

(2) When McKinley entered the presidency in March 1897, he was surrounded by a group of expansionists, including Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, and Captain Alfred T. Mahan. These men wanted a large navy, a string of naval bases, and territorial and trade expansion.[1] When the situation in Cuba worsened, President McKinley had already been advised to pursue expansionist policies.

(3) Meanwhile, the Spanish were having great difficulty ruling Cuba in the 1890s. The United States had passed the Wilson-Gorman Tariff in 1894, which put a 40-percent duty (tax) on sugar from Cuba. The sugar plantations were ruined, and since Cuba's economy depended almost completely on sugar, the whole economy fell apart. The Cuban people suffered greatly, and a rebellion against the Spanish soon resulted.[2] The Spanish, under General Weyler, were forced to use harsh measures, such as herding Cuban people into *reconcentrados* (concentration camps), to suppress the revolt.

(4) As bad as the Spanish actions were, they were not sufficient to cause the United States to declare war—countries frequently use violence and cruelty to crush revolutions, but other governments do not declare war on them. Besides, many Americans realized that the rebels were just as harsh as the Spanish.

(5) The yellow press escalated (increased) the Cuban situation into a declaration of war. The newspapers in New York City competed for readers, because the more readers a paper had, the more it could charge for advertising. Readers could be gained through sensational stories, and many such stories could be written about the rebellion in Cuba. Day after day, Americans read about General Weyler's atrocities (tortures, killing of civilians, war crimes) toward Cuban men, women, and children.[3] Graphic drawings were also included. Much of what was written was exaggerated or distorted—the yellow press was more interested in selling papers than in printing the truth. As William Randolph Hearst told an artist in 1898, "You furnish the pictures; I'll furnish the war."[4]

(6) American public opinion against Spain was inflamed in February 1898

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Historian A

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by two events. First, a letter by the Spanish minister, de Lôme, was published in a New York newspaper. In it, de Lôme referred to McKinley as a weak man who was a "bidder for the admiration of the crowd."[5] Second, the American battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana (Cuba) Harbor, killing 260 Americans. Americans immediately believed that the Spanish had torpedoed the ship. The American press had a field day with these two events, whipping up public outrage to new heights.[6]

(7) Faced with this public pressure, McKinley sent Spain a series of harsh demands on March 27, 1898. Except for a few minor points, the Spanish agreed to the demands.[7] By this time, however, McKinley was being pressed by the jingoists to declare war. Moreover, McKinley did not want Congress to take the initiative in declaring war, since it would look like he, the President, was a weak leader. If McKinley looked weak, his Republican Party would be hurt in the upcoming fall Congressional elections.[8]

(8) So McKinley ignored the Spanish concessions and went before Congress on April 11, 1898, to lead the country into war. In reality, McKinley did not lead the country at all; he allowed himself to be pushed into an imperialistic war by public opinion and an elite group of militaristic patriots. As Senator Spooner said, "The President could have avoided war, but the press and jingoists were too strong and the fall elections were too near."

Endnotes for Historian A

[1] Henry Cabot Lodge, "Our Blundering Foreign Policy," *The Forum*, Vol. XIX (March 1895), pp. 14–17:

> "In the interests of our commerce and of our fullest development we should build the Nicaragua Canal...control the Hawaiian Islands and maintain our influence in Samoa....When the Nicaragua Canal is built, the island of Cuba...will become to us a necessity."

Alfred T. Mahan, "The United States Looking Outward," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. LXVI (1890), pp. 821–23:

> "Whether they will or not, Americans must now begin to look outward. The growing production of the country demands it. An increasing volume of public sentiment [feelings] demands it."

[2] Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, eighth edition (New York, 1969), p. 451:

> "The American tariff of 1894, by placing relatively high duties on sugar, visited the island with economic prostration [reduced to helplessness]. Early in 1895, the unhappy Cubans unfurled the flag of rebellion."

[3] *New York Journal*, February 23, 1896, 27: 1, 2, 3:

> "It is not only Weyler the soldier—but Weyler the brute, the devastator of haciendas [homes], the destroyer of families, and the outrager of women—pitiless, cold, an exterminator of men...."

New York World, May 17, 1896, 1:8, 2:1:

> "Blood on the roadsides, blood in the fields, blood on the doorsteps, blood, blood, blood! The old, the young, the weak, the crippled—all are butchered without mercy."

[4] There is a story that Hearst said this to the artist Frederick Remington. J. R. Winkler, *W. R. Hearst* (New York, 1928), p. 144.

[5] J. B. Moore, *A Digest of International Law* (Washington, 1906), VI, 176.

[6] For example, Hearst's newspaper printed the headlines:

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Endnotes for Historian A

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"THE WARSHIP MAINE WAS SPLIT IN TWO BY ENEMY'S SECRET INFERNAL MACHINE"

"THE WHOLE COUNTRY THRILLS WITH WAR FEVER"

[7] McKinley's demands on March 27, 1898, were (summarized by the author of this book):

First: Armistice (truce) until October 1.

Second: Immediate ending of *reconcentrado* policy.

Third: The President of the United States to be the final arbiter (judge) between Spain and the Cuban rebels, if terms of peace are not settled between Spain and the Cubans by October 1.

Within the next two weeks Spain announced an armistice and an end to the *reconcentrado* policy. This was all Spain could be expected to do, under the circumstances.

[8] Letter from Senator Henry Cabot Lodge to President McKinley:

"[I]f the war in Cuba drags on through the summer with nothing done we shall go down in the greatest defeat [in the fall elections] ever known."

Historian B

(1) The causes of the Spanish-American War have been studied by historians for years. While a number of interpretations have been advanced, the common view is that President McKinley was a weak leader who was pushed into war by a small number of jingoists and the yellow press. Close examination of the causes of the war, however, shows that the common view is mistaken. President McKinley was actually a strong leader who knew what he wanted—he did not need public opinion to push him into war.

(2) The theory that a group of influential jingoists was a key factor in the war is wrong. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and other jingoists actually had little influence with McKinley—much less than Assistant Secretary of State William R. Day, Senator William B. Allison, and several other men (none of whom were jingoists).[1] How then could the jingoists have talked McKinley into war?

(3) Likewise, the theory of yellow journalism does not explain the war. The president can ignore public opinion if he chooses. It must be remembered that newspapers could not create public opinion on the war issue but only shape pre-existing opinion. Historians have mistakenly taken seriously William Randolph Hearst's statement that he would furnish the war. Hearst exaggerated his own role in what he considered to be a "splendid little war."

(4) President McKinley's clear-cut goals show that he, not the jingoists or yellow press, was in control of United States policy. The president was worried about German expansion, but could do little about it while American interests and energies were focused on Cuba.[2] Thus, McKinley wanted the difficulties between Spain and her colony resolved. As long as the hostilities in Cuba continued, the United States looked weak.

(5) McKinley tried to resolve the conflict in Cuba without war by submitting a proposal to Spain calling for Cuban autonomy (self-government). The de Lôme letter undermined his efforts for a peaceful solution, but not because de Lôme said the President was weak. Rather, the letter showed that Spanish promises of reform in Cuba were

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Historian B

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not being carried out—Spain was telling the United States one thing but doing another.[3]

(6) When the battleship *Maine* was blown up, the American public clamored for war. President McKinley set up a naval board of inquiry to study the incident—he was not being herded into war. If the destruction of the *Maine* was the reason for war, why was it two months before the United States acted?

(7) In late March McKinley sent a series of stiff demands to Spain. Spain's response to the demands has been misinterpreted by historians. While Spain seemed to concede to most of the demands, in reality she did not. Most importantly, Spain would not agree to independence for Cuba.[4] This was the central point in McKinley's program.

(8) In light of evidence (the de Lôme letter) showing that the Spanish had negotiated in bad faith, and in light of the lack of agreement on McKinley's main demand, war could scarcely be avoided. What led to the Spanish-American War was not the jingoists and yellow press, but rather, President McKinley's conscious policy[5] of independence for Cuba. To this the Spanish could not, and would not, agree.

Endnotes for Historian B

[1] Horace Samuel and Marion Galbraith Merrill, *The Republican Command, 1897–1913*, (The University Press of Kentucky, 1971), p. 1:

> "At the beginning of 1897, President William McKinley and a coterie [small group] of senators, called 'The Four,' constituted the top command [of the Republican Party]. The four were Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, William B. Allison of Iowa, and John C. Spooner of Wisconsin. [Later Theodore Roosevelt, Joseph G. Cannon, and William Howard Taft joined the group.]
>
> "No other Republicans wielded the great power over policy, legislation, nominations, and appointments that these eight [including McKinley] possessed."

[2] Germany sent warships into Haiti in the winter of 1897, defied the Monroe Doctrine, and announced plans to build new warships for the Caribbean and South Atlantic. Germany also took over part of China in November 1897, but the United States could do nothing about it as long as Cuba occupied so much of its attention.

[3] There was evidence in de Lôme's letter showing that neither Spain's announced reforms in Cuba, nor Spain's negotiations for a trade pact with the United States were being carried out sincerely.

> "Without a military end of the matter nothing will be accomplished in Cuba. [This indicates that he felt Spain should defeat the Cuban rebels rather than reform the island.]
>
> "It would be very advantageous to take up *even if only for effect*, the question of commercial relations [with the United States]." Emphasis added. (This shows that he wanted Spain to discuss commercial relations merely to improve Spain's image in the United States.)

Letter from Enrique Depuy de Lôme to Don Jose Canaljas (a friend of de Lôme), December 1897, from *Foreign Relations of the United States* (1898), p. 1007.

[4] McKinley's demands were that Spain:

First: Declare an immediate armistice (truce) lasting until October 1.

Second: Permanently abolish the *reconcentrado* policy.

Third: Permit the President to mediate (help the Spanish and Cubans come to an agreement) if a settlement between Spain and the rebels was not reached during the armistice.

The third demand involved Cuban independence, since McKinley, as mediator, could require it. Both

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Endnotes for Historian B

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the Spanish and the Americans realized that the third demand was the most important.

Spain agreed to the first two demands, but McKinley wondered about Spain's sincerity. Then Assistant Secretary of State Day asked the Spanish whether they were ready to grant Cuban independence. The answer was no. So actually, the Spanish reply to the United States demands was completely unsatisfactory.

[5] One event which shows that the President, not the jingoists or yellow press, was in control of events was a speech on Cuba given by Senator Redfield Proctor. The republican from Vermont, who had just returned from a tour of Cuba, inflamed the American public with his speech describing the terrible cruelties practiced by the Spanish and calling for Cuban independence.

Stories at the time make it seem likely that McKinley had sent Senator Proctor to Cuba and approved his speech before its delivery. The President was as much in control of public opinion as was the yellow press.

Historian A

1. The main point of Historian A is:

______A. The Spanish gave in to American demands, so President McKinley should not have asked for a declaration of war.

______B. The Spanish-American War was a key event in American history.

______C. President McKinley was pushed into war by the *jingoists* and the yellow press.

______D. The destruction of the *Maine* forced President McKinley to ask for a declaration of war.

2. What is the unstated assumption in the second paragraph? (See **Assumptions** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1) pp. 15–16 for the steps for identifying unstated assumptions.)

3. Determine the type of reasoning (cause and effect, comparison, generalization, or proof) and key question for each of the following sections taken from Historian A, then decide how well the argument answers the key question. Boxes have been provided for your answers and the first one has been done for you.

   a. "The United States had passed the Wilson-Gorman Tariff in 1894, which put a 40-percent duty (tax) on sugar from Cuba. The sugar plantations were ruined, and since Cuba's economy depended almost completely on sugar, the

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whole economy fell apart. The Cuban people suffered greatly, and a rebellion against the Spanish soon resulted." (Paragraph 3)

Type of Reasoning	Key Question	How Well Answered
Cause and Effect	Is there a good connection between the cause and the effect? (p. 5)	The author does show a connection by explaining that Cuba was dependent upon sugar exports.

b. "The yellow press escalated (increased) the Cuban situation into a declaration of war." (Paragraph 5)

Type of Reasoning	Key Question	How Well Answered

c. "Day after day, Americans read about General Weyler's atrocities (tortures, killing of civilians, war crimes) toward Cuban men, women, and children." (Paragraph 5)

Type of Reasoning	Key Question	How Well Answered

d. "If McKinley looked weak, his Republican Party would be hurt in the upcoming fall Congressional elections." (Paragraph 7)

Type of Reasoning	Key Question	How Well Answered

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e. "The Spanish, under General Weyler, were forced to use harsh measures, such as herding Cuban people into *reconcentrados* (concentration camps), to suppress the revolt. As bad as the Spanish actions were, they were not sufficient to cause the United States to declare war—countries frequently use violence and cruelty to crush revolutions, but other governments do not declare war on them." (Paragraph 3)

Type of Reasoning	Key Question	How Well Answered

4. Evaluate the evidence put forth in:

a. Paragraph 5, last sentence

b. Paragraph 6, sentence 3

Q Historian B

5. The main point of Historian B is:

6. What is the unstated assumption in the last sentence in paragraph 4?

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7. Determine the type of reasoning (cause and effect, comparison, generalization, or proof) used in the following.

   a. "The theory that a group of influential jingoists was a key factor in the war is wrong. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and other jingoists actually had little influence with McKinley—much less than Assistant Secretary of State William R. Day, Senator William B. Allison and several other men (none of whom were jingoists). How then could the jingoists have talked McKinley into war?"

Type of Reasoning	Key Question	How Well Answered

   b. "The president was worried about German expansion, but could do little about it while American interests and energies were focused on Cuba."

Type of Reasoning	Key Question	How Well Answered

   c. "If the destruction of the *Maine* was the reason for war, why was it two months before the United States acted?"

Type of Reasoning	Key Question	How Well Answered

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Q General Questions

8. Given the relevant information in the box below, compare the evidence in endnote 4 (paragraph 7) for Historian B with endnote 7 (paragraph 7) for Historian A. Which viewpoint is stronger regarding Spain's reply to United States demands?

> Relevant Information
>
> A mediator is someone who brings the two sides in a dispute together to help them discuss their differences, but does not decide on a solution to the dispute.

LESSON 7

Why Was the United States Imperialistic from 1890 to 1929?

Background Information

This lesson presents two viewpoints of why the United States was imperialistic from 1890 to 1929. Imperialism means political control or economic domination of one country by another country.

The two viewpoints argue about trade (buying and selling goods with other countries), but more importantly about investments (people from Country A buying shares of businesses in Country B, or setting up whole businesses in Country B). Investments can sometimes lead to economic domination or economic imperialism.

One of the viewpoints is from the Marxist perspective that capitalism (private ownership of business) is doomed to failure. Marxists believe that as capitalists (business owners) compete for larger profits, prices decline due to overproduction (consumers cannot buy all the goods produced), and many businesses go bankrupt. This leads to monopolies (control of an industry by only one company) and exploitation (cheating) of the workers. Fewer and fewer people have more and more of the wealth. Eventually, the workers will overthrow the capitalist system and replace it with communism.

The central questions that the two viewpoints focus on are: Did the United States become interested in foreign countries because of desperate businessmen trying to find places to sell their excess products at higher prices? Or were other reasons more important?

Historian A

(1) The United States was an imperialist country from 1890 to 1929. During this time the United States took over, or economically dominated, the Philippines, Cuba, Panama, Guam, Hawaii, Midway, Columbia, China, and others. United States foreign investments increased tremendously from $15 million in 1865 to $685 million in 1897 to $20 billion in 1929! The new American imperialism was more subtle than that of previous imperialist powers. Although the United States generally did not run the country politically (except in the Philippines), its economic investments controlled what the country did.

(2) The United States became imperialistic due to declining profits for American businesses. As a capitalist country, the United States was moving toward widespread monopolies in the 1890s. More goods were being produced than Americans could consume. This led to declining prices (prices had to be cut in order to sell the excess goods) and thus to declining profits.[1] Influential businessmen within the United States, such as Charles Conant, recognized this trend. Conant stated in 1898, "New markets and new opportunities for investment must be found if surplus capital is to be profitably employed."[2] Not only did United States companies need to sell their excess goods, but they also had to invest their excess capital (money) outside the

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Historian A

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United States where it would lead to bigger profits and whole new markets—only in this way could economic stagnation and revolution by the poor in America be prevented.[3]

(3) There is no question that the United States was pushed into its imperialist adventures by monopolistic businessmen trying to save their profits from the decline of capitalism within the United States. For example, as a monopoly, the American Sugar Refining Company had received excessive profits in the United States. As its profits fell due to competition from within the United States, the company sought new markets in foreign countries. It benefited greatly from its investments in Cuba after the Spanish-American War, as well as from investments in other Central American states.

(4) It was businessmen who pushed the United States into taking the Philippines. Business groups argued to President McKinley that the Philippines should be held by the United States "for the protection and furtherance of the commercial interests of our citizens in the Far East"[4]—even though the Filipinos wanted independence. They also argued that with millions of Chinese within easy distance, we could greatly increase our trade by keeping the Philippines.[5]

(5) The net result upon the countries in which the United States invested was devastating. Precious resources, which the countries needed to help pull themselves out of poverty, were drained off to the United States. American companies, not the poor countries, made all the profits. Moreover, the poor workers were wage slaves to the giant companies, which exploited the workers with low wages while raking in enormous profits.

(6) Thus, from 1890 to 1929, the United States began its imperialist investments to save the monopolistic businessmen from the declining profits and collapse of capitalism which is inevitable in the capitalist system. In the process, underdeveloped (poor) countries were exploited and their growth retarded for decades.

Endnotes for Historian A

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Lenin was the leader of the 1917 Bolshevik (Communist) Revolution in Russia. Lenin argues that competitive capitalism leads to monopoly capitalism, which leads to overproduction and declining profits. This leads to imperialism in order to find new areas for profitable investment, and eventually to war as capitalist countries fight each other for these needed markets.

[2] Charles Conant, "The Economic Basis of Imperialism," *North American Review*, September 1898. He further stated, "The United States cannot afford to adhere to a policy of isolation while other nations are reaching out for the command of these new markets."

[3] Claude Julien, *America's Empire,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), p. 57:

> "The economic crisis of 1893–1898 had incited many disorders [in the United States], with riots, hunger marches, explosions of violence which, for some people, foreshadowed a revolution."

Charles and Mary Beard, *A Basic History of the United States* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1945), p. 339:

> "A diversion of the people's thought from domestic discontent over plutocracy and poverty, such as embroiled the land in the campaign of 1896, to world politics and wars would damp if not extinguish radicalism at home."

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Endnotes for Historian A

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[4] *Journal of the American Asiatic Association*, I (1898), 1, quoted in Thomas J. McCormick, "Insular Imperialism and the Open Door: The Spanish-American War," *Pacific Historical Review* 32: 155–69, May 1963.

[5] Speech by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, 1900, quoted in Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brothers* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1960), p. 304:

> "I believe to abandon the islands...would be a wrong to humanity...Manila, with its magnificent bay, is the prize and the pearl of the East...it will keep open to us the markets of China."

Albert J. Beveridge, speech in the Senate, January 8, 1900, summarized by Wolff:

> "Trade with China...was paramount to America's future, while the Philippines themselves abounded in rice, coffee, sugar, hemp, tobacco, copper and gold."

Mark Hanna, campaign speech for William McKinley (Republican) in 1900, quoted in Wolff:

> "If it is commercialism to want...a foothold [the Philippines] in the markets of that great Eastern country [China], for God's sake, let us have commercialism."

Insurance Advocate (business journal):

> "Keeping the Philippines would encourage 'the teeming millions of the Middle Kingdom [China] to buy from us.'"

Historian B

(1) Some Marxist economists (such as V. I. Lenin) have argued that United States imperialism from 1890 to 1929 was due to businessmen's efforts to invest overseas because of declining profits on capital in the United States. They say that foreign investment was critical in propping up the profit rate for United States companies. This argument is erroneous, however, for several reasons.

(2) First, compared to total United States investments within the country, foreign investments were small. From 1869 to 1897, foreign investment was 1 percent of total investment. From 1900 to 1929, it was only 6 percent of total investment, making the increase in United States foreign investment smaller than the increase in California investment alone.

(3) Second, very few United States companies were involved significantly in foreign investment. Most companies did not invest abroad.[1] Except for agriculture, manufacturing, and metals, the amount put into foreign investment was less than .1 percent of total investment. Even for agriculture, manufacturing, and metals, the foreign investment was less than 2 percent of the total investment.

(4) Third, if it is true that foreign investment was critical in propping up sagging United States profit rates, then we should see a significant rise in profits from 1890 to 1929. But we do not see this; the United States profit rate went from about 4.8 percent in 1890 to about 4.9 percent in 1929.

(5) In only five industries—bananas, sugar, copper, oil, and precious metals (gold, silver, etc.)—was there significant foreign investment. Foreign investment in precious metals was around long before capitalism, so this investment cannot be said to be due to capitalist imperialism. There is no domestic supply of bananas, so foreign banana investment was understandable. Foreign oil investment, although

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Historian B

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significant, was still only 7 percent of total 1929 oil investment. This leaves only sugar and copper, in which high foreign investment might be due to declining profits within the United States.

(6) The picture of United States imperialism which emerges from this investigation is not surplus capital desperately searching for needed investment, but rather a few businessmen in a few industries seizing a chance to make more profits.

(7) The cases of Cuba and Panama illustrate the weaknesses of the Marxist argument. After the Spanish-American War and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1902, which lowered the United States tariff (import charge) on Cuban sugar, the American Sugar Refining Company seemed to have benefited. It was the landholders in Cuba, however, who really benefited. The amount of sugar refined by the American Sugar Refining Company did not increase significantly after 1902 because demand for sugar in the United States did not change significantly. Although from 1900 to 1903 Cuban sugar imports rose by 1.8 billion pounds, imports from the Dutch East Indies and Europe both fell by .9 billion pounds, offsetting it. The American Sugar Refining Company did not benefit from this increase in Cuban sugar exports because it did not own much land in Cuba. All Americans combined only owned 16 percent of the 1902 sugar crop. Thus, the monopolistic American Sugar Refining Company did not benefit significantly from the takeover of Cuba.

(8) In Panama, the United States received $110 million from 1909 to 1929 in Canal revenues, but had canal expenses of $816 million, for a loss of $706 million. One might argue that rich American stockholders in the Panama Canal Company reaped the profits from this loss to the taxpayers. Most of the stockholders, however, were French, not American. It might seem like American shippers made money by cutting shipping costs, but they received no advantage over competitors since shippers from every nation used the canal at the same cost. The reasonable viewpoint is that the United States built the canal, not for profits for businessmen, but for military reasons.

(9) Marxists also argue that workers were exploited in the countries Americans invested in. The evidence, however, shows that in this time period American companies paid wages equal to, and often higher than, the prevailing wage in these countries.[2] The workers were better off as a result of United States investments.

(10) Thus, American imperialism was not a result of pressure applied by American businessmen. The evidence does not support the theory that there was a push by businessmen to increase foreign investment, exploit impoverished foreign workers, and save themselves from the decline of monopoly capitalism.

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Endnotes for Historian B

[1] Cleona Lewis, *America's Stake in International Investment* (1938).

[2] In Cuba, immigration of laborers was restricted, while exports of sugar tripled. Thus, demand for workers, and their wages, must have gone up. The average 1900–1901 wage for sugar workers was $.76 a day, but in January 1902, it was $.85½ a day.

In Columbia, the United Fruit Company (an American company) paid wages above the going wage. It paid wages in scrip, redeemable at the company store. But prices at the store were lower than in local stores, so workers' real wages were even higher. Frederick Rippy, *The Capitalists and Columbia*, pp. 190–91.

"Wages paid by United Fruit were high in comparison to money wages paid to agricultural workers elsewhere in Central America." Charles Kepner, Jr., *Social Aspects of the Banana Industry* (1936), p. 129."

Q Historian A

1. What is the main idea of Historian A?

2. Evaluate the evidence in the following.

   a. Endnote 2

   b. Endnote 3

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3. Evaluate the argument in the following.
   a. Paragraph 4

   b. Paragraph 5

Historian B

4. What is the main idea of Historian B?

5. Evaluate the evidence in the following.
   a. Endnote 1

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b. Endnote 2

6. Evaluate the reasoning in the following.

a. Paragraph 2

b. Paragraph 4

c. Paragraph 8

7. Overall, which viewpoint is stronger? Explain your answer.

LESSON 8 Who Was Primarily to Blame for the *Lusitania* Tragedy?

Background Information

From 1914 to 1917, the United States remained neutral while trying to decide whether to enter World War I on the British-French side against the Germans. One of the most spectacular events that occurred during this time of neutrality was the May 7, 1915, sinking of the British passenger liner, *Lusitania*, by a German submarine. This lesson presents two viewpoints of who was to blame for the tragedy. Dates in parentheses in the titles are the publication dates of the original interpretation.

Historian A (1972)

(1) On May 7, 1915, a German U-boat (submarine) sank the British passenger liner, *Lusitania*, with the loss of some 1200 people. Most people have blamed the tragedy completely on the Germans. This view is wrong—the British were much more at fault than people ever believed.

(2) First, Germany published warnings in American newspapers that British passenger ships sailing into the submarine area around Great Britain would be sunk. Some nervous passengers on the *Lusitania* asked the captain about the warnings, and the captain reassured them that the *Lusitania* would be protected by British warships. Despite the reassurance, however, there was no protection by the British navy. The cruiser *Juno* was supposed to meet the *Lusitania* off the coast of Ireland and escort her to port, but the *Juno* was recalled to port and never met the passenger liner.[1] The British Admiralty knew there were submarines in the area and did not want a warship sunk. The *Lusitania* sailed unwarned and without benefit of an escort into an area where submarines were known to be active.[2]

(3) Second, the British navy did not tell the passengers that the ship was loaded with munitions and was outfitted to have guns mounted on her.[3] The British had decided to use passenger ships to protect shipments of badly-needed war materials and, to protect them further, they mounted guns on the ships (called mystery ships). The Germans were caught in a dilemma. If they left the ships alone, the English would get more materials with which to fight Germany. If the submarines surfaced to warn the ships, the "passenger" ships could sink the submarines with one hit (the submarines could not tell through a periscope if the ships were armed or not). If the submarines sank the passenger ships without warning, the British would cry "barbarity" and draw the United States into the war against Germany.

(4) The commander of the U-20 (the submarine which sank the *Lusitania*) had little choice but to attack the huge liner without warning. One torpedo—not two, as has been alleged for many years—hit the forward part of the ship.[4] This was followed by a second explo-

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Historian A

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sion, either from the tons of ammunition blowing up or the explosion of gun cotton. The gun cotton on the ship was for use in naval mines. It has the unusual characteristic of exploding when it comes into contact with ocean water![5] It was this second explosion which ripped out a large portion of the bottom of the ship and caused it to sink in only 18 minutes.

(5) Third, the *Lusitania's* poor design was a major factor in the great loss of life. Unlike the *Titanic,* which had transverse watertight compartments, the *Lusitania* had longitudinal compartments (see diagram A below).

(6) When the *Titanic* hit the iceberg, it took two hours to sink and did not list (lean to the side) because its compartments flooded all the way across the ship. Thus, all its lifeboats could be lowered. When the *Lusitania* was hit by the torpedo, the compartments on the opposite side of the ship did not flood right away. The ship went into a fifteen degree list within seconds; the list got much worse later (see diagram B, next page).

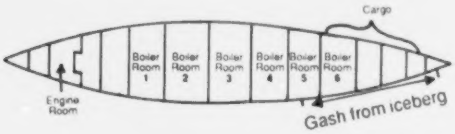
(7) This list prevented the lowering of most of the lifeboats. As shown in diagram B, the five-ton lifeboats on the high side of the *Lusitania* either swung in over the deck of the ship, slid down it and crushed passengers in their paths,[6] or slid down the side of the ship and were ripped open by the one-inch rivets sticking out from the side. The boats on the low side were difficult and dangerous to climb into and almost impossible to lower.

(8) Fourth, the British Admiralty recalled a ship (the *Juno* again) which could have rescued many of the passengers. The *Juno* was recalled within sight of the passengers because the British were afraid it, too, would be sunk by the submarine. It was more than two hours before other, smaller boats arrived. Darkness soon followed, and by the next morning most of the passengers had drowned.

(9) The British Admiralty conducted an inquiry into the sinking and blamed the whole matter on the Germans and the captain of the *Lusitania*, absolving itself of any responsibility. The Germans were guilty of barbarity, they concluded, and the captain of the liner did not heed Admiralty warnings of submarine activity and try to avoid the U-boat. There was no mention of munitions on the ship, the ship's design, or any other problems. The British government had what it wanted. The Germans looked like uncivilized brutes and the United States was very angry—well on its way to siding with Britain in the war.

Diagram A

Titanic (Transverse compartments)



Lusitania (Longitudinal compartments)

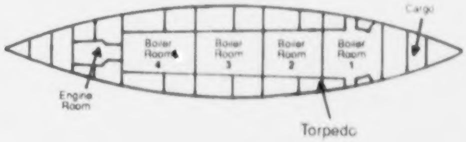


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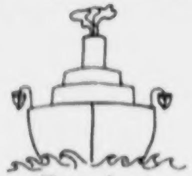
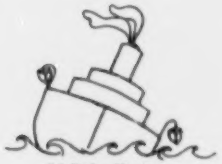
Diagram B



Regular



With list

Endnotes for Historian A

[1] Shortly after noon on May 5, the Admiralty signaled the *Juno* to abandon her escort mission and return to Queenstown. The *Lusitania* was not informed that she was now alone.

[2] Commander Kenworthy, who had previously submitted a paper at Sir Winston Churchill's request (Churchill was First Lord of the British Admiralty) on the political results of an ocean liner being sunk with American passengers on board, was called to a meeting in the Admiralty map room on May 5, 1915. What was said will never be known, but Kenworthy left the room disgusted at the cynical attitude of his superiors. He wrote later, "The *Lusitania* was sent at considerably reduced speed into an area where a U-boat was known to be waiting and with her escort withdrawn." He concluded that the Admiralty was letting the *Lusitania* be sunk to pull the United States into the war.

[3] The previous captain of the *Lusitania*, Captain Dow, protested the mixing of passengers and munitions. He was replaced by Captain Turner.

The records of the Remington Small Arms Company show that 2,000 cases of small arms ammunition were received by the *Lusitania*.

The *Lusitania* and her sister ship, the *Mauritania*, were built by the Cunard Company with the help of the British Admiralty. In time of war, the ships could be outfitted by the Admiralty as war ships. Extra plating and gun mounts were added to the *Lusitania*, but the guns were probably never put on.

[4] Diary of Captain Schwieger, Commander of the U–20, the submarine which torpedoed the *Lusitania*, May 7, 1915, 3:10 p.m.:

> "Torpedo hits starboard side right behind the bridge. An unusually heavy detonation takes place with a very strong explosion cloud. The explosion of the torpedo must have been followed by a second one (boiler or coal or powder)."

[5] Dr. Ritter von Rettegh made a sworn statement of a conversation he had in Washington with Captain Guy Gaunt of the British navy:

> "After some little conversation, he [Gaunt] asked me what effect, if any, sea water coming in contact with gun cotton would have. I inquired of him why he wanted to know this. He said, 'We are required to send by one of our fastest steamers [the *Lusitania* had set the record for the fastest crossing of the Atlantic] in the next day or so about six hundred tons of gun cotton, which we have purchased from Du Pont Powder Company.' I told him that if sea water comes into contact with the gun cotton immediately a chemical change takes place—raising the temperature and causing a sudden explosion. He asked me what to do to prevent this, and I said to keep it in a dry place."

It was not the boilers which exploded. The testimony of the two survivors of number 1 boiler room shows the boilers did not explode. They stated that they tried to escape for several minutes (the second explosion occurred right after the torpedo struck the ship), but did not mention any boilers blowing up. The survivor of number 2 boiler room also testified that the boilers did not explode. Number 3 and number 4 boiler rooms rose out of the water and were not close to the point where the torpedo struck the ship, so those boilers could not have exploded.

Divers who have been down to the wreck unanimously testify that the bow of the ship (where the ammunition was stored) was blasted by a massive internal (from the inside out) explosion.

[6] Mr. Isaac Lehmann of New York City made a sworn statement that he saw at least thirty people crushed to death by one of the lifeboats sliding across the deck.

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Historian B (1975)

(1) People have traditionally felt that the German torpedo attack on the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, was morally wrong and deserved the condemnation of the world. But in 1975 Historian A burst on the scene with two articles and a book on the sensational theory that Britain was responsible for the disaster. It is unfortunate that so many people have believed Historian A's arguments since he is not a trained historian at all, but rather, a newspaper correspondent. His writing mingles history and historical fiction in a thoroughly misleading way.

(2) It is true that the *Lusitania* carried munitions on her voyage in May, that the British did arm some of their merchant ships with weapons to sink unsuspecting submarines, and that the Germans warned passengers in America that liners entering the war zone could be sunk. Nevertheless, the German U-boat commander was not morally justified in sinking the *Lusitania*. Over one thousand innocent civilians were killed. As President Wilson argued, to say the U-boat commander was not wrong is like saying that if a bloodthirsty killer warns his victims first, then the killer is not wrong.

(3) The Germans cried that it was wrong for the United States to trade munitions with her enemy, but not with her. The United States had no way to trade with Germany (because of the British blockade), so the situation could not be avoided. It has been a common practice for neutrals to sell arms to one side in a war while not being able to sell to the other side. Germany herself had sold arms to the British during the Boer War, while not selling to the Boers due to the British naval blockade.[1]

(4) Historian A argues that the *Lusitania* was to be met by the warship *Juno* and escorted to port. There is no evidence, however, to show that the *Juno* was ever ordered to meet the *Lusitania*. It would have been illogical to order the slower cruiser to escort the swift liner—the *Juno* would only have slowed down the *Lusitania*. The cruiser would have been ineffective against the submarine, serving only as a second target.

(5) Historian A charges that the *Lusitania* was not warned of submarines in the area, but the evidence shows she was warned several times.[2]

(6) Historian A tries to make it look like First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill planned to let the Germans sink the *Lusitania* to draw the United States into the war on England's side. Historian A's conspiracy theory is an illusion, as the two previous arguments show—there was never to be an escort and the ship was warned. Based on Winston Churchill's actions during the rest of his life, it is impossible to believe that he would deliberately leave civilians to die.

(7) Historian A makes another ridiculous argument when he says that the ammunition on board exploded, causing the ship to sink so fast. The problem with this argument is that the torpedo hit the ship between the first and second boiler rooms, some 150 feet from where the ammunition was stored.[3] Surely, the torpedo could not cause the munitions to explode at that distance, especially when repeated testing shows that even in a fire, small arms ammunition does not explode, it just shoots

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Historian B

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off like fireworks.[4] Also, no passenger testified to smelling the acrid odor of exploding munitions.

(8) Historian A argues that the ship was loaded with gun cotton which explodes when it contacts ocean water. Why would the British put gun cotton, which they desperately needed, on a ship which they were hoping would be sunk? Moreover *tightly packed* gun cotton will not explode when contacted with salt water.

(9) The finding by deep sea diver John Light[5] of an outward rip in the sunken *Lusitania,* on the opposite side (the port side) from where the torpedo hit (the starboard side), confirms the most logical explanation of what happened—a boiler exploded. The nineteen boilers of the *Lusitania* were under 195 pounds per square inch of pressure, so upon impact they could easily explode.[6] Wesley Frost, United States consul at Queenstown in 1915, wrote a book listing eighteen steamships that suffered bursting boilers after being torpedoed. He concluded that at least half of all steamships torpedoed sank in ten minutes or less.[7] Thus the eighteen-minute sinking of the *Lusitania* doesn't seem so extraordinary.

(10) Historian A incorrectly blames the extensive loss of life on the design of the *Lusitania*, charging that the longitudinal design caused the ship to list, preventing many lifeboats from being launched. The designer of a passenger liner, however, cannot be asked to design a ship with a torpedo attack in mind. The *Lusitania* was designed to stay afloat with damage caused by ordinary maritime hazards (such as icebergs and storms).

(11) When the *Lusitania* was sinking, the *Juno* was sent out to rescue survivors and then recalled, as Historian A says. It should be noted, however, that the original order to send the *Juno* out violated Admiralty policy. Many warships, such as the *Cressy* and *Hogue*, had been sunk while trying to rescue survivors. The *Juno* would have been another sitting duck for torpedo attack. Admiral Coke only recalled the *Juno* when he learned that fourteen other ships were moving to the area. Moreover, the *Juno* was not within sight of the passengers when it was ordered to turn around.

(12) At the inquiry into the sinking of the *Lusitania,* the British Admiralty found that Captain Turner bore a lot of the responsibility. He had been warned four times that there were submarines in the area, but he failed to sail in midchannel, operate at full speed (he was going only 18 knots), or follow a zigzag course.[8] Had Captain Turner been in midchannel (rather than closer to shore where the ship was a better target), he would have missed the U-boat; had he steered a zigzag course, he would have dodged the torpedo.

(13) The *Lusitania* sinking did not happen the way Historian A described. The liner was not used by the British Admiralty to draw the United States into World War I; it did not sink because the ammunition on board exploded; and the British did not cover up the sinking in the following investigation. The truth about the *Lusitania* shows the dangers of untrained amateurs trying to write history.

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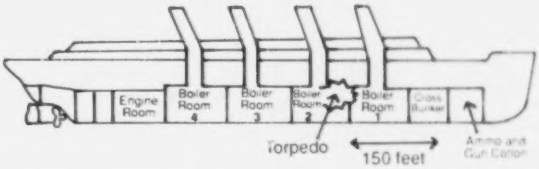
Endnotes for Historian B

[1] Evidence of Germany trading with the British during the Boer War is contained in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1915 Supplement, (Washington, 1915), p. 795.

[2] The British Admiralty sent a wireless message to the *Lusitania* on the morning of May 7, 1915, that submarines were active in the southern part of the Irish Channel. Public Records Office, British Admiralty Files, 137/105, Frames 28–29 (Valencia Log).

[3] The location at which the torpedo struck the ship comes from the testimony of survivors of the *Lusitania*. Note in the drawing below how far the torpedo hit from the ammunition (about 150 feet) and the direct damage to the two boiler rooms.



[4] Carlton Savage, *Policy of the United States toward Maritime Commerce in War* (Washington, 1936) II, p. 335. Extensive field tests, including the burning of boxes of ammunition in open fires, showed that munitions do not explode in one large explosion.

[5] Kenneth MacLeigh, "Was There a Gun?" *Sports Illustrated*, XVII (December 24, 1962), p. 37. This article describes Light's findings.

[6] When the *Lusitania* neared Liverpool, England, on February 5, 1915, Captain Dow said that he feared that his ship, if hit in the boilers by a torpedo, would be destroyed.

[7] Wesley Frost, *German Submarine Warfare* (New York, 1918), Chapters IV, V.

[8] One warning read, "Avoid headlands [the coastlands]; pass harbours at full speed; steer midchannel course. Submarines off Fastnet [a marker off the coast of Ireland near where the *Lusitania* was sunk]."

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Survey: Contraband and Submarines

Q Suppose you are the leader of an island nation which is at war. Your enemy is using submarines to stop merchant ships which are delivering badly needed supplies to your country. Currently the submarines are surfacing, stopping the ships, letting people off, and then sinking the ships. Which of the following would you do?

	Option	Would do	Would not do	Reasons why you would or would not do this
1	Arm your merchant ships so that they can sink submarines when the subs surface.			
2	Tell the captains of your merchant ships to ram submarines when they surface. (This will not damage the ships since they are much larger than the subs.)			
3	Put ammunition and other war armaments (called contraband) on passenger ships. These ships have the citizens of other countries on them.			
4	Tell the captains of your merchant ships to fly the flags of neutral countries. The submarine commanders may think the ships are not yours.			

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Q Suppose you are the leader of a country which is at war with an island nation. Your enemy controls the ocean with its large navy and is causing starvation in your country with its blockade. You have submarines which could cut off delivery of supplies to your enemy. The enemy has, however, sunk several of your subs when they have surfaced to warn passengers and crew before torpedoing the ships. Which of the following would you do?

	Option	Would do	Would not do	Reasons why you would or would not do this
5	Use submarines to sink merchant ships of your enemy, but not if passengers from neutral countries are thought to be on them.			
6	Use submarines to sink passenger ships of your enemy, even if some of the passengers are from neutral countries.			
7	Order the submarines to surface, warn the ships, and let all passengers and crew off the ships before sinking them.			

LESSON 9 Why Did the United States Enter World War I?

Background Information

This lesson presents two viewpoints of the main reason the United States entered World War I. This is not the same question as what caused the war itself. It has nothing to do with the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand, for example. The dates in parentheses next to the historians are the publication dates of the original interpretation.

Historian A (1934)

(1) In August 1914 the State Department stated publicly that American bank loans to the governments at war in Europe would not be neutral; they would put the United States on the side of the Allies (England and France). Later, the State Department got around its own statement by using a trick. The State Department, in October 1914, said that credits (which is just another name for loans) were different from loans and that it was all right for American banks, especially J. P. Morgan Bank, to give credits to the warring countries.

(2) As soon as the credits were made, the Allies used them to buy American goods to fight the war. Since Germany could not buy American goods (because of the British blockade), the United States was now helping the Allies, but not Germany. That is, the United States was not neutral anymore.

(3) War trade with the Allies resulted in great prosperity for the United States—business profits were high, the gross national product was expanding, and unemployment was down. The United States was dependent on England and France for its prosperity, and this dependence made us unneutral. For example, we did not protest violations by England, our largest customer, of our neutral rights at sea, while we loudly protested German violations of our rights.

(4) Other historians have argued that the main cause for the United States entry into World War I was the German submarine campaign. That argument leaves out the fact that United States loans and supplies to the Allies already made us enemies of Germany, so we really forced Germany to use the submarines. Even the German decision to start unrestricted submarine warfare (the event which some argue led directly to the United States declaration of war) was forced by the United States. The United States was already completely involved in the war except for sending troops, and the Allies, backed by American economic power, would have defeated Germany anyway. The Germans took a gamble on their one chance for victory—it shortened the war, but it did not change the outcome.

(5) President Wilson's words show that, even in his view, granting loans made us unneutral and forced us into World War I. He stated in April 1915 that "in the judgment of this government, loans by American bankers to any foreign nation which is at war, are inconsistent with the true spirit of neutrality." As was shown above, the government later allowed American

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Historian A

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bankers to make such loans. The fact that we changed the name from loans to credits made no difference—they still put us firmly on the Allied side.

(6) German submarines were not the main reason for the United States entry into World War I. Rather, United States loans and trade with the Allies forced the Germans to use unrestricted submarine warfare to stop aid from a country (the United States) which was already her enemy.

Historian B (1935, 1954)

(1) Recent viewpoints of the causes of American intervention in World War I have brought up many factors. There is the suggestion by some historians of loans and the greed of United States capitalists. There is talk by other historians of propaganda and sympathy for the Allies, and even a change in the balance of power in Europe if Germany won. None of these factors, however, shows how the United States might have stayed at peace—none conclusively shows why we went to war.

(2) Dominant sentiment in the United States was certainly pro-Ally. American economic prosperity depended upon the maintenance of our trade with the Allies. But it is a far cry from these facts to the assumption that because of them we adopted a policy which led us into war. It would be necessary to show that emotional sympathy and material interests overcame the strong pacifistic sentiment (feelings against war) of Congress and the people. It would be necessary to show that these factors pushed Wilson to declare war over his own pacifist sentiments.

(3) Wilson was sympathetic toward the Allies, but he also tried very hard to prevent that feeling from affecting United States policy. He protested not only German violations of American neutral rights at sea, but also British violations. He sent notes of protest to England and, in the summer of 1916, secured wide powers from Congress permitting him to prohibit loans and to impose embargoes, if necessary, to counter British violations. United States actions against Britain were limited because the country's economic interests lay with continuing the munitions trade, but this only limited our quarrel with England. It does not show why we went to war against Germany.

(4) The German submarine campaign was the reason for United States entrance into the war. So long as the German government stuck to her *Sussex* pledge (a pledge not to attack unarmed neutral ships), Wilson would have continued his neutral course. America would have continued her protest against British interference with American trade. "If Germany had not alienated American sympathies," wrote Colonel House (advisor to Wilson), "by her mode of warfare, the United States would not have put up with Allied control of American trade on the high seas." Submarines were far different in effect than surface ships. Submarines sank ships and killed people, while surface ships stopped neutral vessels and seized illegal cargoes. The submarine campaign, unlike

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Historian B

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the Allied blockade, involved indiscriminate destruction of American property. It permitted no distinction between contraband (war goods) and free goods.

(5) It is inexact to state that our export of munitions forced the Germans to adopt submarine warfare and drew us into the war. All the evidence available shows that even without American export of munitions to the Allies, the Germans would have utilized the unrestricted submarine campaign as the only effective means of striking at Great Britain.

(6) It is still further from the truth to state that our intervention was determined by pressure from financial groups which had acquired a vast stake in the fortunes of the Allies. Whether the Allies won the war or not, that stake was largely secure. Moreover, the businessmen and bankers with this stake had no means of exercising pressure upon the President or upon Congress. We know as a historical fact that no effective pressure was exercised.

(7) By raising the submarine issue at critical moments from 1915 on, Germany herself made it difficult or impossible for America to protest British infractions of our right to trade freely. It was the Germans who had alternatives available to them—they could accept Wilson's leadership in the peace program; they could continue their submarine campaign as it was; or they could try the desperate gamble of unrestricted submarine warfare. They chose the third alternative in hopes of dominating Europe, if not the world.

(8) It was the German decision for unrestricted submarine warfare, alone, which forced Wilson to take steps for war. American ships were being sunk and American citizens were being killed on the high seas. Considerations of America's alleged economic stake in an Allied victory did not influence Wilson's thoughts during the critical weeks from February 1 to April 2, 1917, nor did considerations of national interest or the great ideological issues at stake in the conflict.

(9) Without the submarine campaign, we would not have entered the war, no matter what other circumstances there were.

Q Historian A

1. What is the main point of Historian A's argument?

C5

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2. What is an unstated assumption in the last sentence in paragraph 3?

3. What is an unstated assumption in paragraph 2, sentences two and three?

4. What is the fallacy in the second to last sentence in paragraph 4?

______ A. Appeal to the Golden Mean (p. 13)
______ B. Straw Man (p. 14)
______ C. False Scenario (p. 6)
______ D. Hasty Generalization (p. 10)
______ E. Negative Proof (p. 12)

5. Evaluate the reasoning used in:

a. The first sentence of paragraph 3

b. The second sentence of paragraph 3

c. The third sentence of paragraph 4

6. Evaluate the evidence used in the second sentence of paragraph 5.

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Q Historian B

7. What is the main point of Historian B's argument?

8. What is the unstated assumption in paragraph 4, the sentence that begins, "Submarines sank ships...?"

9. What is the fallacy in the second sentence of paragraph 4?

10. What is the fallacy in the second sentence of paragraph 5 (also in paragraph 9)?

11. What is the fallacy in the first sentence of paragraph 8?

12. List one word from the second sentence of paragraph 1 and one word from the second to last sentence in paragraph 4 which make a value judgment.

13. List a total of two unclear (or undefined) words in the second sentence of paragraph 3, the second sentence of paragraph 5, and the first sentence of paragraph 7.

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14. One of the types of reasoning which historians use to reach their conclusions is debating. How well do you think Historian B does in showing that the following arguments are wrong?
    a. Allied propaganda and American sympathy for the Allies were the cause for the United States entry into World War I.

    b. American loans and war trade drew the United States into World War I.

15. Assume that Historian B showed conclusively that Allied propaganda and American loans and trade were not important factors in drawing the United States into the War. How well does Historian B show that the main cause he argues for *did* push the United States into the War?

General Question

16. Is Historian A or Historian B's viewpoint stronger? Why do you think so?

UNIT 3
1920s and the New Deal

LESSON 10 Identifying and Evaluating Evidence

Identifying Evidence

Q

Label each item below with the appropriate letter.

S A **source** of information is given.
N **No** source of information is given.

_______1. In May and June 1989, Chinese soldiers opened fire on civilian protesters in Tiananmen Square, killing many of them.

_______2. The 1988 fire in Yellowstone Park burned about a million acres, almost half of the entire park.

_______3. Amnesty International, a human rights organization, reported that human rights workers in Guatemala received death threats and were held by three men belonging to the Guatemalan armed forces.

_______4. Though most Americans admired the technological advances of the 1920s, some were distressed by their challenge to the ways of the "good old days."

_______5. Charles Lindbergh became a hero to millions of Americans in the 1920s when he made the first solo transatlantic flight to France.

_______6. Hiram Wesley Evans, the "Imperial Wizard" of the Ku Klux Klan, wrote in a 1926 article that the Klan represented the Nordic race, and that race alone.

_______7. Women, in much larger numbers than in the past, smoked cigarettes in the 1920s, as shown in a 1920 *New York Times* article, "Women Smokers."

Evaluating Evidence

Q

Evaluate the following pieces of evidence by listing the strengths and weaknesses of each. If you need help, refer to the section on **Evidence** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1).

8. Historian Frederick Lewis Allen says in his book, *Only Yesterday*, published in 1931, that Secretary of the Interior Bernard Fall secretly leased the Teapot Dome oil reserves to an oil company, and personally received from the company's

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owner $260,000 in bonds. Allen says this shows Fall made an illegal deal with the oil company.

STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

9. We want to know what Franklin Roosevelt's goals were in his New Deal Program. We find his 1933 inaugural address stating that the government will help put people to work through needed projects, raise the price for crops, unify relief activities for the poor, regulate banking, and stabilize the money supply.

STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

10. We want to know whether the police or striking workers started the violence at the Chicago Republic Steel Plant on May 30, 1937. We find a *New York Times* article from the same day entitled "4 Killed, 84 Hurt as Strikers Fight Police in Chicago: Steel Mob Halted." The article states, "The police said they stood their ground but made no effort to harm the invaders until showered with bricks and bolts....When the rioters resorted to firearms, the police said, they were forced to draw their revolvers to protect themselves."

STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

11. On the same topic of the Republic Steel Plant violence (Question 10), we find a Senate Subcommittee Report on a film taken by Paramount Pictures at the scene of the confrontation between police and strikers. The report says that the film shows a line of strikers facing a line of policemen while the head of the strikers and policemen argue. "Then suddenly, without apparent warning, there is a terrific roar of pistol shots, and men in the front ranks of the marchers (strikers) go down like grass before a scythe....The massive sustained roar of the police pistols lasts perhaps two or three seconds....Instantly the police charge on the marchers with riot sticks flying."

STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

LESSON 11 Identifying and Evaluating Comparisons

Identifying Comparisons

An item might involve a comparison as well as some other type of reasoning, such as cause and effect. If so, label it **C**. If you need help, look at the section on **Comparisons** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1).

Q Label each item below with the appropriate letter.

C The item involves **comparison** reasoning.
N The item does **not** involve comparison reasoning.

_______1. I went to the public library because it is better than our school library.
_______2. Four kids on our street went to camp this summer.
_______3. I enjoy playing basketball in my spare time because I like the exercise and competition.
_______4. Ronald Reagan was to the 1980s what Calvin Coolidge was to the 1920s. They were both pro-business and served in an era of prosperity.
_______5. Governor Calvin Coolidge took strong action against the strikers in the 1920 Boston Police Strike.
_______6. More cars were produced per year in the 1920s than in previous years.
_______7. Franklin D. Roosevelt, because of his brilliant political skills and his willingness to experiment, was a much better president than was Herbert Hoover.
_______8. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was an important part of the New Deal.

Evaluating Comparisons

The key question for evaluating comparisons is

- How are the two cases similar and how are they different?

Q Use this question to evaluate each comparison below. In general, the more similarities, the better the comparison.

9. Due to greater factory output, advertising increased greatly in the 1920s. In 1929, for example, more that $3 billion was spent on advertising, compared to about $1 billion per year before World War I.

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10. Farmers were getting poorer in the 1920s. The prices they received for their crops were going down steadily while the cost of taxes, farm implements, fuel, clothes, and other products they had to buy were going up.

11. The New Deal was successful in helping the economy recover from its collapse, as shown by unemployment figures. In 1933, when the New Deal began, there were 12.8 million people unemployed. By 1937 the number of people unemployed had dropped to 7.7 million.

12. Use the statistics below to argue, contrary to the argument in item 11, that unemployment figures show the New Deal was not successful.

Unemployment, 1929–1939 (in thousands)

Year	Total Labor Force	Number Unemployed	Percent
1929	49,180	1,550	3.2
1930	49,820	4,340	8.7
1931	50,420	8,020	15.9
1932	51,000	12,060	23.6
1933	51,590	12,830	24.9
1934	52,230	11,340	21.7
1935	52,870	10,610	20.1
1936	53,440	9,030	16.9
1937	54,000	7,700	14.3
1938	54,610	10,390	19.0
1939	55,230	9,480	17.2

LESSON 12 Analyzing Cause and Effect

Connection Between Cause and Effect

The Eighteenth Amendment, ratified (approved) in 1919, outlawed the sale of beer, wine, and distilled liquors beginning in January 1920. The Volstead Act was passed to enforce the amendment. This was the beginning of Prohibition (manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcohol was illegal). It lasted until 1933.

This part of the lesson consists of three viewpoints, all of which argue that Prohibition led to a tremendous increase in organized crime, also referred to as the mob, gangsters, racketeers, etc.

Q Read the three viewpoints, then choose which viewpoint is strongest and tell why you think so. The key question to be answered here is "How well does each historian explain the connection between the cause and the effect?"

Historian A

Prohibition led to a tremendous increase in organized crime in the 1920s. With the sale of alcohol illegal, the supply shrank. But millions of people still wanted to drink, so the price skyrocketed. According to reporter Ernest Mandeville, the profit from sales of "needle beer" (illegal, home-brewed beer) in Detroit in 1925 was 1000%. The mob was ideally suited to fill the demand for alcohol. After all, there was no legal competition. Fueled by such easy money, organized crime spread quickly.

Historian B

Prohibition led to a tremendous increase in organized crime in the 1920s. Supporters of Prohibition were generally small town, farming Protestants, while the opposition drew its strength from urban groups of mixed religious affiliation who believed in a more secular (worldly) outlook and a freer life-style. This latter group, which comprised a large minority, or even a majority, of the American public, refused to obey the Volstead Act. Organized crime naturally spread from this opposition. According to a 1929 article in *Harper's Monthly*, racketeering cost consumers plenty of money, especially in Chicago.

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Historian C

Prohibition led to a tremendous increase in organized crime in the 1920s. After the Volstead Act was passed, smugglers brought whiskey in across the Canadian border, or on fast boats from the Caribbean. To supplement the supplies of these "rum-runners," there were countless home distillers of illicit whiskey, much of it bad and some of it poisonous. It was easy to buy whiskey by the case, the bottle, or the drink. Indeed, "speakeasies" (illegal saloons) did business in every major city, and obliging policemen and cab drivers were glad to tell strangers where they were. Naturally, in such an atmosphere, the mob grew and with it the level of violence. The number of bombings increased from 51 in 1920, to 92 in 1924, to 116 in 1928 (from "The High Cost of Hoodlums," *Harpers Monthly Magazine*, October 1929, p. 529).

1. Which of the three viewpoints is strongest? Why do you think so?
   (This question is asking "Which argument makes the strongest connection between the cause and the effect?")

Identifying Cause-and-Effect Arguments

To be cause-and-effect reasoning, the statement has to argue that something caused, led to, or brought about something else.

Q Label each of the following with the appropriate letter. For those items that you identify as cause-and-effect reasoning, write the cause and the effect in the space provided.

C Item illustrates **cause-and-effect** reasoning.
N Item does **not** illustrate cause-and-effect reasoning.

______2. Bill drives his car to work, except on Fridays when he walks.
CAUSE: EFFECT:

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_______3. The family had to pay $600 to fix the car, so they were forced to cancel their trip.

CAUSE: EFFECT:

_______4. Industrialization in the 1920s brought more leisure time to masses of people.

CAUSE: EFFECT:

_______5. The wave of labor strikes after World War I, and the founding of the Communist Party, triggered an anti-radicalism reaction in the United States known as the Red Scare.

CAUSE: EFFECT:

_______6. In 1928 President Herbert Hoover could talk about the possibility of ending poverty without fear of being ridiculed.

CAUSE: EFFECT:

_______7. The flapper—the new woman of the 1920s—asked for the same social freedom that men enjoyed.

CAUSE: EFFECT:

LESSON 13 Were Sacco and Vanzetti Guilty?

Sorting Information by Point of View

At 3:00 p.m. on April 15, 1920, Frederick Parmenter, paymaster at the Slator and Morrill Shoe Company of Braintree, Massachusetts, and Allessandro Berardelli, his guard, were murdered while taking the $15,776.51 payroll from the company's office to the factory. Two suspects, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were arrested and charged with the murder.

Label each item below with the appropriate letter.

G Item could be used to show that Sacco and Vanzetti were **guilty**.
I Item could be used to show that they were **innocent.**
N Item could **not** be used to show their guilt or innocence.

_______1. Witnesses said the crime was committed by a gang of four or five men.

_______2. The killers were identified as Italians by some witnesses, and Sacco and Vanzetti were Italians.

_______3. A similar crime was committed before this one, in Bridgewater, Massachusetts. There were gangs involved in both crimes. Each gang had a car, and in both cases the gang members were identified as Italians.

_______4. Sacco and Vanzetti were part of a gang and one of the gang members, named Boda, had a car.

_______5. When arrested, Sacco and Vanzetti were very nervous and they were armed with guns.

_______6. Sacco and Vanzetti lied to the police about why they went to get Boda's car and why they were armed when they were arrested.

_______7. The gang to which Sacco and Vanzetti belonged believed in anarchism, that is, the radical idea that the government should be abolished. They claimed to be pacifists (people opposed to violence). They were against the United States government.

_______8. When Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested, they were dragged to the police station without being told what the charges were against them.

_______9. Sacco and Vanzetti said they were afraid anarchists were being persecuted (unjustly treated) by police and they felt no one would believe they were armed to protect themselves at the time they were arrested.

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_____10. Vanzetti had already been convicted of a similar crime (armed robbery) in Bridgewater, Massachusetts.

_____11. The police stopped their investigation after Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested.

_____12. Two of the other men in the gang, Boda and Orciani, had alibis. That is, they gave evidence that they were somewhere else when the crime was committed.

_____13. Witnesses at the scene of the crime said it happened too fast to make positive identifications.

_____14. At the police station some witnesses identified Sacco, while other witnesses identified Anthony Palmisano who was in jail at the time of the crime.

_____15. The judge in the case, Webster Thayer, wanted radicals put in jail.

_____16. At the trial, seven witnesses positively identified Sacco and four witnesses identified Vanzetti as having committed the crime. All of these witnesses were upstanding citizens who had nothing to gain by lying. None of the witnesses was completely sure, however, that Sacco or Vanzetti were the men. One witness's identification of Sacco was thrown out because he had made contradictory statements to four other people. Another witness identified Sacco in the car as it was traveling about 20 miles per hour. A witness who identified Vanzetti was shown to not have seen anyone in the car—he had ducked out of fear of being shot.

_____17. Descriptions of the bandits varied considerably among the witnesses at first. Some witnesses described the criminals as light-skinned with blonde hair. Others described the bandits as dark-skinned and dark-haired. The latter characteristics fit Sacco and Vanzetti.

_____18. One witness who identified Sacco at the trial said, when first questioned by police, that she could not make a positive identification. She said the suspect she saw had large hands, but Sacco had rather small hands.

_____19. Witnesses were called into jail before the trial, shown pictures of Sacco and Vanzetti, and asked if these men were the criminals. No police line-up was used.

_____20. Some witnesses said the men they saw at the scene of the crime were not Sacco and Vanzetti.

_____21. Captain John Proctor of the State Police fired 14 test bullets through Sacco's gun and compared them to Bullet III—the bullet that killed Berardelli. Bullet III was an obsolete type (no longer being manufactured)

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with a milled groove in it. (Sacco had six such bullets on him at the police station.) Proctor used similar bullets. When the prosecutor asked Proctor if Bullet III was fired from Sacco's Colt automatic he replied, "My opinion is that it is consistent with being fired by that pistol." He also said that the indentation made by the firing pin on Shell W, found at the scene of the murders, and the test shells fired in Sacco's gun were consistent with being fired from the same weapon.

_____22. Charles Van Amburgh worked at the Remington Union Metallic Cartridge Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut. Before working at Remington he had spent nine years at the Springfield Arsenal and at Westinghouse and Colt Firearms. By measuring bands he determined that Bullet III was fired from a .32–caliber Colt. On the witness stand he said, "I am inclined to believe that it was fired, Number III bullet was fired, from this Colt automatic pistol." A rough rust track at the bottom of the barrel corresponded to marks on the bullet. Under cross examination he agreed that it is common for Colts to rust on the bottom of the barrels.

_____23. Several witnesses said Vanzetti was in Plymouth all day on April 15, 1920. It was a year later when they said this, but they each remembered the day well because something significant had happened to them that day.

_____24. Several witnesses, including Giuseppe Andraver a clerk at the Italian consulate, stated that Sacco was in Boston all day on April 15, 1920. Though it was a year later when they said this, they remembered because there had been a big rally that night.

_____25. All witnesses to Sacco and Vanzetti's locations in Boston and Plymouth on the day of the crime were Italian immigrants, and many were friends of Sacco and Vanzetti.

_____26. Celestino Madeiros, who was under indictment for murder, confessed to the Braintree slayings. He said that he and others from the Morelli gang of Providence, Rhode Island were involved. He gave a lot of factual details about the crime. Joe Morelli, the gang leader, looked like Sacco, and he owned the same type of gun that Sacco did, a Colt .32. Five other bullets found at the scene of the crime came from the same type of gun owned by Tony Mancini, another Morelli gang member.

_____27. Madeiros shared a jail cell with Sacco. Soon after the crime, Madeiros deposited a sum of money which was close to what his cut of the money from the robbery would have been.

_____28. A cap of roughly the same size as one found in Sacco's kitchen was found at the scene of the crime. Sacco's employer identified the cap as being similar in color and appearance to the one that he had seen Sacco wearing.

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_____29. A historian had Sacco's pistol retested in 1961. Because of the markings on the shells, he concluded that Sacco's gun fired the fatal shot.

_____30. In 1988 Charlie Whipple wrote an article in the *Boston Globe* about an encounter he had in 1937 with ballistic expert Sgt. Edward Seibolt. Seibolt told Whipple that he had worked on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. He said that "we switched the murder weapon in that case" because "we suspected the other side [defense] of switching weapons, so we just switched them back." Seibolt said he would call Whipple a liar if he printed the story, so Whipple did not print it for 51 years.

_____31. Years after the trial, Albert H. Hamilton, a ballistics expert of 15 years, conducted tests on the fatal bullet and a test bullet from Sacco's gun and concluded, based on differences in markings, that the fatal bullet did not go through Sacco's gun. Augustus H. Gill, a professor of technical chemical analysis at MIT, also did tests and concluded the fatal bullet was not fired from Sacco's gun.

_____32. According to the notes of the assistant district attorney (prosecution), three shell casings were found at the scene of the crime. The jury was shown four shells. Only one of the shells was proved to have been fired through Sacco's gun.

_____33. The cap at the scene of the crime was black and had earflaps. A cap brought from Sacco's house was grey and did not have earflaps.

_____34. James Burns was a ballistics engineer with the U.S. Cartridge Company for 30 years. He said Bullet III could have been fired from a Colt automatic but also from a different type of gun called a Bayard. When asked by the defense attorney if Bullet III was fired from Sacco's gun, he responded, "In my opinion, no. It doesn't compare at all."

_____35. J. Henry Fitzgerald worked for 28 years in the weapons business and was in charge of the testing room at the Colt Patent Firearms Company at the time of the trial. He testified that, "Number III Bullet was not fired from the Sacco pistol. I can see no pitting or marks on bullet Number III that would correspond with a bullet coming from this gun."

_____36. According to one historian, by 1961 the barrel of the Sacco pistol would have rusted so much that any test done with it would not have been reliable. The experts who tested it said they cleaned it out by firing two preliminary rounds through the barrel. This would have changed the inside of the barrel. Further, in 1924 a district attorney claimed the gun barrel of Sacco's gun had been switched with another new Colt automatic used in test firings. Judge Thayer had the barrels switched back. So it is unclear whether after 1929 the barrel was the real one.

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_____37. **Sacco and his attorney agreed to have test bullets fired from his pistol to see if it was the murder weapon. The testimony by ballistics experts at the trial (#21, 22, 34, 35) was all based on those test firings.**

_____38. **Fred Loring said he found the cap at the scene of the crime 18 inches from Berardelli's body immediately after the shooting. Actually, he found it in the middle of the street on the evening of April 16, almost 30 hours after the robbery. The prosecuting attorneys knew Loring was lying but let him testify anyway.**

_____39. In a sworn statement made in October 1923, Captain John Proctor said that what he meant in his testimony at the Sacco-Vanzetti Trial (#21) was that Bullet III had been fired by a Colt automatic, not that it had been fired by Sacco's Colt automatic, and that the questions asked him at Dedham were carefully framed to make it appear he thought Sacco was guilty when he didn't necessarily think so.

Arguing the Case

Q Now look back over the information and decide whether you think Sacco and Vanzetti actually committed the crime (not whether they should be found guilty or not guilty in court, but whether they committed the crime). Then take the information that favors your point of view and write an argument here.

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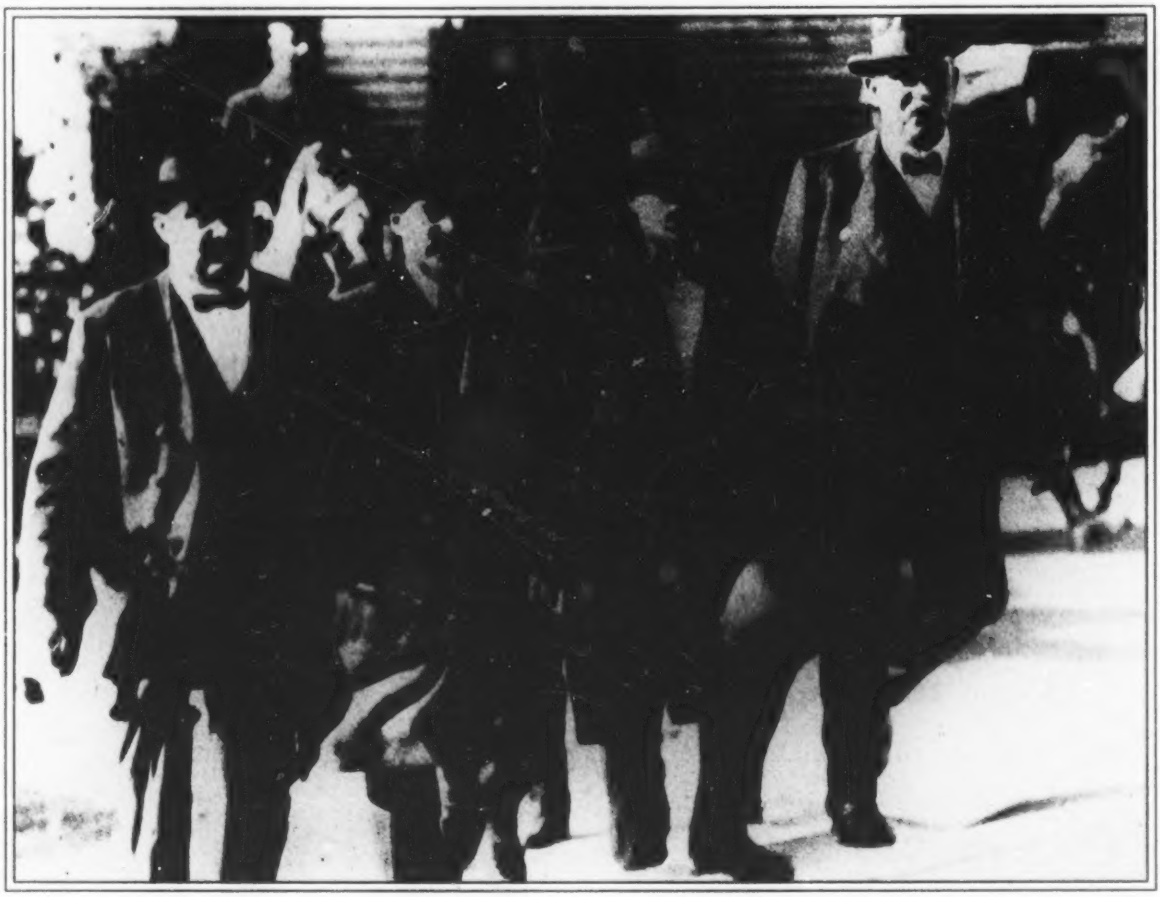
Q What impression does this photograph give you of Sacco and Vanzetti (the two men in the middle)? How might photographs be used by the prosecution or defense to influence a jury?



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LESSON 14 What Caused the Great Depression?

Glossary of Terms on the Depression

The Great Depression, which began in late 1929 and lasted until roughly 1940, was the worst depression in American history. Historians disagree sharply on the main cause of the depression. Since the topic is quite complicated, you need to have a clear understanding of the terms involved in order to evaluate the arguments.

Banking Panic A situation in which many bank depositors withdraw their money (called a run on the bank) causing a large number of banks to close.

Bull Market A situation in which the prices of stocks rise significantly.

Consumption Spending money to purchase or buy goods and services.

Depression A dramatic slowdown in the economy, characterized by a significant decline in the Gross National Product (GNP) and national income, and a great increase in unemployment.

Federal Reserve Bank An independent government agency which controls, through various procedures, the supply of money. It also has significant influence over interest rates.

Gross National Product The measure of all the goods and services produced in a country in one year, measured in dollars in the United States.

Interest Rates The amount charged for borrowing money. Many businesses borrow money to expand their output. Thus, higher interest rates can slow down business (and economic) growth, and lower interest rates can lead to business growth.

Money Currency (paper money and coins) plus demand deposits (checking accounts)—most money is in the form of checking accounts, not currency.

National Income The total net income earned in production of goods and services. It is the same as Gross National Product except that it does not include things such as allowances for wear and tear on machinery and buildings.

Production The making of goods or performance of services.

Recession A mild slowdown in the economy, less dramatic than a depression.

Speculation Buying a product with the hope that the product can be sold later at a higher price.

Stock Crash A dramatic drop in the price of stocks.

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Relevant Information

Q Use the relevant information below, read the viewpoints, and answer the questions which follow.

A. One economist estimates that total stock market investment was a very small percentage of the whole economy (between 1% and 2% of total national income).

B. National income declined by 36% from 1929 to 1933.

C. The richest 5% in America increased its share of income from 24% of total national income in 1922 to 26% of total national income in 1929.

D. There have been numerous bank panics and stock crashes in the United States. Some have been followed by depressions and some have not.

E. In any economy which is changing, there will be growing industries and declining industries.

F. Short-term interest rates declined dramatically after the stock market crash and remained low in 1930. Long-term rates on government securities stayed about the same. Long-term private interest rates went up.

G. Output of goods and services in 1933 was 50% below what it could have been, according to one economist.

Historian A

When the stock crash took place in the last months of 1929, America plunged into its worst depression ever. The seeds of the depression lay in the seemingly prosperous American economy of the 1920s. Although the economy expanded in the '20s, there were a number of weaknesses in it.

First, there were several weak industries in the 1920s, notably agriculture, textiles, and coal mining. Second, there was the phenomenon of technological unemployment. With more machines used to make goods, some workers were laid off. The result was that although employment increased in the 1920s, it did not increase fast enough to keep up with population growth. Even in the best years of the 1920s there were 1.5 million people unemployed. Third, the income of the country was concentrated more in the hands of the wealthy. The poor people did not share equally in the prosperity of the 1920s. Fourth, Americans experienced numerous foreign trade problems, especially with Europe, in the 1920s.

Historian B

The economic collapse of 1929, known as the Great Depression, was caused by several weaknesses in the American economy of the 1920s. These weaknesses included the decline of certain industries (especially agriculture), technological unemployment, and

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Historian B

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foreign trade problems. The most important weakness in the economy was the unequal distribution of income in the 1920s. Although wages went up during the decade, business profits went up much faster. Since profits and the income of rich people are used largely to produce goods, and since wages are used largely to consume goods, a situation of overproduction resulted. That is, more goods were produced than were being bought. Business started declining, which led to the stock collapse, and eventually to the Depression itself.

1. What is the main point of Historian A?

2. What is the main point of Historian B?

3. Which historian, A or B, gives a stronger explanation of unequal distribution of income as an important cause of the depression? Why do you think so?

4. What assumption do both Historians A and B make about the stock crash and the Depression?

5. Using the relevant information (p. 77) and your own thinking, show one weakness in:
   a. Historian A's viewpoint—

   b. Historian B's viewpoint—

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Historian C

The 1929 stock crash obviously caused the Great Depression which followed it. There are three ways the crash contributed to the economic decline: 1. it reduced the money wealth of households, causing less spending; 2. it deprived business of an important way of raising money for investment (through stocks); and 3. it caused people to take a pessimistic view of the economy, thereby reducing investment. With spending and investment in decline, the economy had to decline.

Historian D

It goes without saying that the 1929 stock crash caused the Great Depression. Throughout 1928 and 1929 people speculated on the great bull market. That is, they bought shares of stock on the gamble that the price of the stock would keep going up, rather than on the basis of the real value of the stock. The speculative boom was fueled by easy credit policies, especially buying on margin. Individuals could buy stocks on margin by putting down as little as 10 percent of the amount purchased and borrowing the other 90 percent from the stock broker. With people bidding on the stocks with borrowed money, stock prices soared. When prices declined in October 1929, many people had to sell fast in order to pay back their loans. Thus, the initial downturn in stock prices turned into a collapse.

6. Which historian, C or D, makes a stronger argument that the stock crash caused the Great Depression? Why do you think so?

7. Using the relevant information and your own thinking, show one weakness in Historian C's viewpoint.

Historian E

In 1929 the American economy went into a recession. There is no need to explain why this occurred since the regular ups and downs of an economy cause periodic recessions as a matter of course. The important question is why the economy did not recover within a year as it usually does, but rather, plunged into the worst Depression in our history.

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Historian E

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The answer is that the supply of money shrank, causing less spending and thus higher unemployment. The money supply shrank first because there was a bank panic. People started withdrawing their deposits, and since bank deposits were not insured by the government (insured today by the FDIC), the other depositors removed their money before they lost it. As deposits were withdrawn, loans were called in and the money supply was drastically reduced.

Second, the Federal Reserve Bank took no action to stop the money supply from shrinking. In fact, in 1931, it actually took steps that made the supply of money even smaller! The money supply continued to decline up to 1933. By that time, it was 33 percent smaller that it had been in 1929. Notice how close that reduction is to the 36 percent drop in national income which occurred during the same four years.

As the supply of money shrank, people had less money with which to buy goods and services. Consequently, prices fell and fewer goods were sold. With fewer goods being sold, fewer goods were made, unemployment went up, and national income and GNP declined. The country was plunged into the Depression, not by businessmen, but by poor government policy in not protecting the banking industry, and by the foolish policy of the Federal Reserve Bank (a government agency) in reducing the money supply at the very time when the country needed a larger supply of money.

8. What is the main point of Historian E?

9. What is a possible weakness in Historian E's argument?

Historian F

The stock market crash of 1929 was one factor that contributed to the Great Depression, but it was not an important factor. By reducing people's wealth, the crash caused a decline in spending, but the decline was not large enough to cause the tremendous drop in national income that occurred from 1929 to 1933.

The Depression was caused mainly by the dramatic decline in consumption in 1930. For some as yet unexplained reasons, buying declined greatly in 1930—the drop was five times as large as the 1929 drop.

The decline caused investments to fall. This decline in consumption also caused the decline in the supply of money, not the other way around. If

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Historian F

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the money supply had declined first, short-term interest rates would have been high (since the supply of money would have been smaller than the demand). But short-term interest rates were actually low, showing that the demand for money (due to less spending) was lower than the supply.

Other theories do not adequately show what primarily caused the Great Depression. The best explanation is the decline in spending during 1930.

10. What is Historian F's main point?

11. What is one question you would ask Historian F to better evaluate his viewpoint?

12. Using the relevant information and your own thinking, show one weakness in Historian F's viewpoint.

13. Based on the arguments they make on the causes of the Great Depression, what do you think each of the following would recommend to avoid or cure depressions?

Historian B -

Historian D -

Historian E -

Historian F -

14. Which viewpoint do you think is strongest? Why do you think so?

LESSON 15 What Should Be Done to Cure the Depression?

It is 1933 and the United States is in the worst depression in its history. Unemployment is at an unbelievable 25% (8% unemployment is considered high), the Gross National Product is down, and businesses are going bankrupt in large numbers. You have just been elected president of the country. What will you do to cure the depression?

Q Below are ten proposals about what to do. Label your top choices 1, 2, 3 and the worst ideas 8, 9, 10. Leave the others blank.

_______1. Government should plan our economy. With central planning by the government, the economy could grow without having periodic business depressions. Public goals, such as more economic equality, should, if necessary, be forced on businessmen.

_______2. The government will restore public confidence in the economy by helping business. We should tax the rich businessmen less and the government should give subsidies (help such as tax breaks, research, grants of money etc. which saves businesses money) to businessmen. The businessmen will use this help to expand production; they will hire more workers, and the economy will get moving again. There should be a minimum of welfare for the poor as this drains off money from businesses.

_______3. The government should get the businesses together and set up a planning agency (run by the government) to help businesses get going again. Within the agency, businesses would set up their own guidelines and regulations. For example, they could charge higher prices and they could cooperate rather than compete. The government would watch over the agency, but the businessmen would run the agency. Businessmen know best how to get business going again.

_______4. The government must balance the budget. In this way government spending will be controlled. Almost all businessmen believe this is a healthy way to run both government and business. Thus, their confidence will be restored in the economy, they will expand production, and the economy will get moving again.

_______5. The government must give much more welfare relief to the millions of people who are suffering from the Depression. It is the obligation of government to protect its poorer citizens from such suffering. The money to pay for welfare should come from heavier taxes on rich people. If the poor have more money, they will buy more products and business will be able to expand. In this way the country will get out of the Depression.

_______6. To get out of the Depression, the government should deficit spend—that is, it should spend much more money than it takes in through taxes. By pumping more money into the economy, the government would stimulate more spending by both consumers and business and get the economy moving again.

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_______7. What the country should do is adopt a "share the wealth" program. The government should confiscate (take away) all the wealth of people who have more than $50,000 and share it with the poor who are suffering.

_______8. The government should expand the military and start a huge arms build up. All the people will then be employed. People will feel they are contributing to the strength of the nation, and businessmen and government would be cooperating to get the country out of the Depression. People should be made to think of what is good for our nation, and not themselves.

_______9. The workers must take over all the industries in the country. The government, controlled by the common people, should abolish (do away with) private ownership of businesses and take them over for the people. Workers would no longer be exploited by the businessmen and would be truly free. Only in this way can the country get out of the Depression and avoid future depressions.

_____10. Private charities should help the poor to survive. The government really has no legitimate role in aiding the poor. Government welfare causes people to lose incentive to work—it destroys the moral fiber of the country.

The Political Spectrum

What does it mean when a person says that Senator Smith is a liberal, or that Congressman Jones is a conservative? The terms "liberal" and "conservative" are very complex, and different people give them different meanings. The characteristics which follow will help you better understand the way people commonly use these terms today regarding domestic issues (not foreign policy).

Liberals tend to:	Conservatives tend to :
Turn to the government to solve economic problems.	Turn to business and the market to solve economic problems.
Favor government regulation of business.	Oppose government regulation of business.
Favor more equality over more freedom.	Favor more freedom over more equality.
Oppose larger defense budgets.	Support larger defense budgets.
Favor more government spending to solve economic problems.	Oppose more government spending.
Favor higher taxes on rich people.	Oppose higher taxes on rich people.
Favor political and economic change.	Oppose political and economic change.

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The terms "liberal" and "conservative" can be put onto something called a political spectrum.

A	B	C	D	E
RADICAL	LIBERAL	MODERATE	CONSERVATIVE	REACTIONARY

"Radicals" (sometimes referred to as the left wing) tend to favor even more government intervention, more equality, and more extreme change than liberals. "Moderates" are between liberals and conservatives. "Reactionaries" (sometimes referred to as the right wing or radical right) tend not only to oppose change but also to want to go back to earlier times.

Q Go back and label each of the ten proposals in this lesson with the letter corresponding to its position on the political spectrum. That is, if you feel a proposal is radical, you would put an "A" on the line next to the proposal, and so on.

LESSON 16 Was the New Deal Good or Bad for the Country?

During the 1930's Depression, the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt set up a program called the New Deal to help the country get back on its feet. Below are two viewpoints on whether the New Deal actually helped the country. Read them and answer the questions that follow.

Historian A

The New Deal hurt our country a great deal. Our economy was in bad shape in 1932, but the New Deal only made matters worse in the long run. The Roosevelt Administration allowed intellectuals and socialists into the government, and these men used their positions to interfere with the normal functioning of the economy. There was too much experimentation—the New Deal confused action with progress.

One of the biggest problems created by the New Deal was an expanding bureaucracy. The federal government got much larger, which led to many of the problems we have today—waste, corruption, inefficiency, and high taxes. Our national debt rose from $19 billion in 1932 to $40 billion in 1939. People started thinking that America was a "Handout State" that could use unlimited spending to cure problems. The giveaway programs are continuing to ruin the moral fiber of America; people do not want to work when they are taken care of by the government.

The New Deal also created class jealousies. Businessmen felt that all kinds of regulations were put on them, while workers and farmers were pampered. They felt private enterprise was being strangled by creeping socialism.

One of the biggest criticisms of the New Deal, however, is that it did not do what it set out to do—it did not get the country out of the Depression. In 1938 the economy was still sick—with a low GNP and high unemployment. It remained for World War II to get us out of the Depression.

Historian B

Franklin Roosevelt provided strong leadership in the 1930s when the country sorely needed it. No one really knows how far his New Deal got us out of the Depression because World War II came along and pulled us back to complete prosperity. We do know that the country was becoming more prosperous by 1936, but then a recession hit and we lost it all. To what extent the recession was a temporary setback in an otherwise general trend toward prosperity is a matter of opinion.

Even if the New Deal did not completely get the country out of the Depression, it must be remembered that its main goal was relief, not recovery. Under it, no one was allowed to starve—everyone kept his self-respect. The New Deal relieved the worst crisis of 1933 and saved the economy from collapse or revolution. Those businessmen who criticize the New Deal owe their livelihood partly to the efforts of Roosevelt.

The New Deal also achieved long-term reform of our economy. It changed our country's philosophy to one in which

[Continued on next page.]

Historian B

[Continued from previous page.]

the government has a legitimate role to play in the economy to prevent mass hunger and injustice. In the process, the New Deal achieved a fairer distribution of national income and purged capitalism of some of its worst abuses.

Q Historian A

1. What is the main point of Historian A?

2. In which sentence(s) (or none) is evidence offered to support Historian A's case?

3. What assumption does Historian A make in the first paragraph, third sentence?

4. In the second paragraph, third sentence, Historian A says, "Our national debt rose from $19 billion in 1932 to $40 billion in 1939," to support the argument that the New Deal brought about many problems. Evaluate the reasoning in this argument.

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Q

Historian B

5. What is the main point of Historian B?

6. In which sentence(s) (or none) is evidence offered to support Historian B's case?

7. In the third sentence of the second paragraph, Historian B says the New Deal "saved the economy from collapse or revolution." What fallacy does this argument commit? (See pp. 8–16 in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" [Unit 1].)

8. Evaluate the argument in the second sentence of the second paragraph. "Under it [the New Deal] no one was allowed to starve—everyone kept his self-respect."

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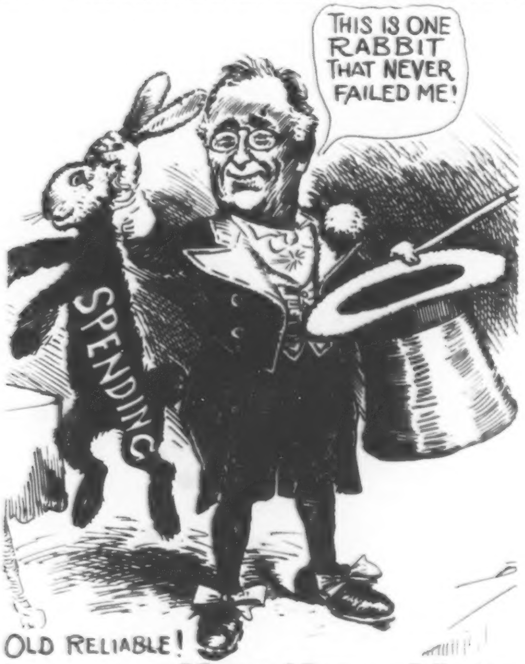
Q General Questions

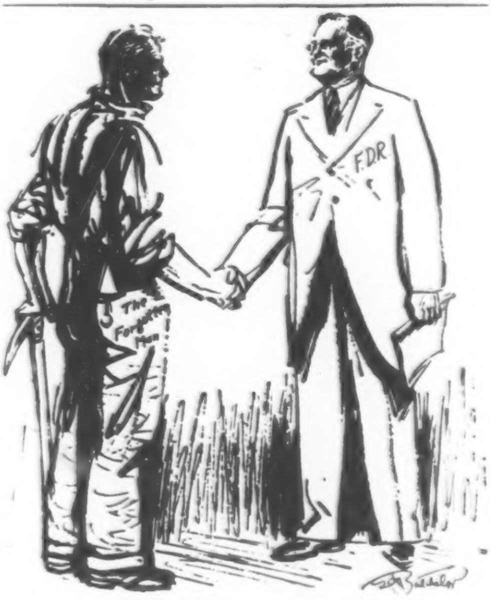
9. Which argument is stronger? Why do you think so?

10. Under each cartoon write which viewpoint it would support.


THIS IS ONE RABBIT THAT NEVER FAILED ME!
SPENDING
OLD RELIABLE!

Library of Congress Collection

"Yes, You Remembered Me"


F.D.R
The Forgotten Man

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A. Which viewpoint would it support? Why do you think so?

B. Which viewpoint would it support? Why do you think so?

Unit 4
Foreign Policy Since 1945

LESSON 17 Assessing the Reliability of Sources

Evaluate the following pieces of evidence by listing their strengths and weaknesses. If you need help, refer to the section on **Evidence** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1).

1. We are trying to determine whether the United States or the Soviet Union (U.S.S.R.) was responsible for starting the Cold War. We find the book *Speaking Frankly* (1947) by United States Secretary of State James F. Byrnes in which he describes his 1945 and 1946 negotiations with the Soviet leaders. Byrnes says the agreements were a success, but the Soviets soon violated (broke) the agreements, which started the Cold War.

STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

2. Secretary of State Dean Acheson responded in a February 3, 1949, State Department publication to the accusation that the United States (and especially the State Department) had been responsible for the Communist takeover of China. He said, "The unfortunate but inescapable fact is that the ominous result of the civil war in China was beyond the control of the government of the United States."

STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

3. We want to know if North Korea really did attack South Korea in June 1950. We find statements by the United Nations (UN) Security Council and General

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Assembly that North Korea attacked. The governments of South Korea and the United States also say North Korea attacked, as do newspapers from all countries except Communist countries. (Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the evidence from the UN.)

STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

4. We want to know if the Soviets lied when they said they did not put missiles in Cuba. We find aerial photographs taken by United States reconnaissance planes showing the missile sites. We also find that the Soviets later took missiles out of Cuba. (Evaluate the aerial photographs.)

STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

5. We want to know why the United States started the effort in 1947, known as the Marshall Plan, to rebuild the economies of Europe. We find a statement by George Marshall (author of the plan) in the *New York Times* of June 1947 explaining the reasons for the plan.

STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

LESSON 18 Identifying Assumptions and Analyzing Value Judgments

Identify Unstated Assumptions

Q Identify the unstated assumptions in the following. If you need help, refer to the section on **Assumptions** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1).

1. You should have me help you make decisions. Otherwise, if you make decisions on your own, you might make poor ones which I will have to straighten out or overrule.

2. Oh no! My science teacher wants to see me after school today.

3. (Statement in 1946) If the United States agrees to Soviet demands now, we will be faced with greater Soviet demands later.

4. Secretary of State George Marshall said that the United States should send economic aid to European countries because a healthier economy in Europe would prevent the spread of Communism.

5. In the late 1940s the United States should have sent troops into China to help the Nationalists defeat the Communists.

6. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said in 1954 that the United States would rely on the threat of massive nuclear retaliation rather than American soldiers to stop Soviet or Chinese aggression (attacks) against free countries.

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Value Judgments

Some arguments contain value judgments. To evaluate value judgments, separate them from the factual part of the arguments, then think of cases where the value judgement would apply. See page 17 of the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1) for more explanation on **Evaluating Value Statements**. The first one is done for you.

7. "The United States promised in the Yalta Agreement that Russia would get $10 billion in reparations [payment for damages] from Germany. Later the United States broke the Agreement. Thus, it was America that caused the disagreements about reparations."

   Conclusion: *America caused the disagreements about reparations.*

   Factual: *The United States promised $10 billion in reparations to Russia, then broke the agreement.*

   Value judgment: *Countries should keep their promises. You should always keep a promise.*

   Case where this value judgment might be wrong: *If the other country broke the agreement first, then the deal is off.*

8. "The U.S.S.R. promised to hold free elections in eastern Europe and then didn't hold them. This is one of the main causes of the Cold War."

   Conclusion:

   Factual:

   Value judgment:

   Case where this value judgment might be wrong:

9. "The U.S.S.R. didn't appreciate our lend-lease aid during World War II, so we were justified in cutting off the aid as soon as the war ended."

   Conclusion:

   Factual:

   Value judgment:

   Case where this value judgment might be wrong:

10. "The U.S.S.R. took over eastern Europe to prevent a possible future German attack. The Russians couldn't let Germany attack them again."

    Conclusion:

    Factual:

    Value judgment:

    Case where this value judgment might be wrong:

LESSON 19 Identifying and Analyzing Types of Reasoning

Identify and Evaluate the Types of Reasoning

Q Identify and evaluate the type of reasoning used in each item below by asking and then answering the appropriate question(s). Read pp. 4–11 in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1) if you need more help. Remember, each item could contain more than one type of reasoning. Look for the reasoning that is most important.

The types of reasoning and key questions are:

Cause and Effect —Is there a reasonable connection between the cause and the effect?
- Are there other possible causes for this effect?
- Are there important previous causes that led to the proposed cause?

Generalization—How large and representative is the sample?

Comparison—How are the two cases similar and different?
- Do the similarities outweigh the differences?

1. We should have won the football game, but the officials made a bad call on a key fourth-down play. We lost our momentum after that and the other team rolled over us.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

2. If the Contras were to win a military victory and take over Nicaragua, it would in reality be a United States chosen puppet regime imposed on the Nicaraguan people by United States weapons and United States trained guerrillas. It would be the equivalent of what Moscow did in Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, etc.).

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

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3. A telephone poll of 612 adult Americans, taken by the Yankelovich, Clancy, Shulman Company on July 9, 1987, shows that at that time, 60% called themselves sympathetic to Oliver North, and 51% thought North was totally truthful in his testimony.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

4. President Kennedy was wrong in taking strong action to get the Soviet missiles out of Cuba in 1962. The Soviet missiles in Cuba were no more of a threat to the United States than American missiles in Turkey were to Russia.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

5. President Kennedy, after reading the book, *The Guns of August,* concluded that countries taking the hard line pushed each other into World War I. He decided not to take a hard line with the Soviet Union in the Cuban Missile Crisis lest he push the two countries into nuclear war.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

6. After winning stunning victories in South Korea, United Nations forces invaded Communist North Korea. This led to a counter-invasion by a Chinese Communist army.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

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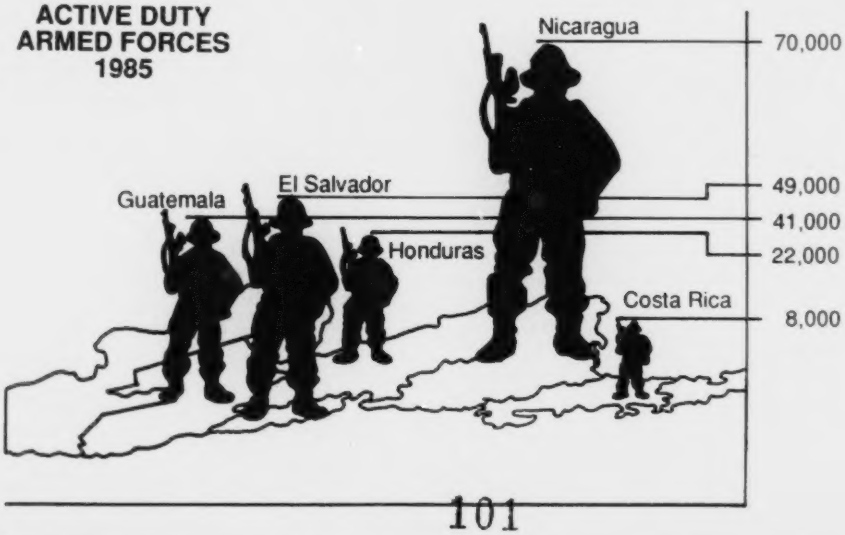
Evaluate These Arguments

The arguments below cannot be evaluated according to the above questions, but something is wrong with them.

Q What fallacy does the argument in 7 commit? See p. 6 and pp. 12–14 in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1) for the possible fallacies. What's wrong with the slide in 8?

7. "President Kennedy's decision to blockade Cuba in the 1962 Missile Crisis was brilliant. On the one hand, he avoided risking nuclear war by not choosing the dangerous option of bombing the missile sites. On the other hand, he did not back down to the Soviet threat, and thereby showed the Russians that they couldn't push us around." What fallacy does this argument commit?

8. In July 1987 Oliver North used the slide below to support the argument that Nicaragua (a Communist country) was a threat to Central America, so the United States should give more money to the Contras to oppose the Nicaraguan government. What's wrong with this slide?



LESSON 20 Was the United States Justified in Dropping the Atomic Bombs on Japan?

Background Information

For the United States, World War II began with a sneak attack by Japanese planes on American naval forces at Pearl Harbor. The war was fought in Europe against the Germans and their allies, and in the Pacific against the Japanese. During the war the secret Manhattan Project was commissioned to develop an atomic bomb for the United States. Germany surrendered (May 1945) before the bombs were completed, but on August 6, 1945, a single atomic bomb destroyed Hiroshima, and on the ninth, another atomic bomb destroyed Nagasaki.

In this lesson two viewpoints are presented on the controversial use of the atomic bombs. Read and evaluate them according to the criteria your teacher tells you. Consider the relevant information which follows the two viewpoints.

Historian A

(1) Some historians argue that dropping the atomic bombs on Japan was justified because it shortened the war, thus saving lives in the end. This view is wrong. The United States was not justified in dropping the bombs.

(2) In the summer of 1945, the Japanese were almost totally defeated. American ships and planes pounded the island without any response by the Japanese. Leaders in Japan were trying to surrender and American leaders knew it. Several times the Japanese went to the Russians to ask them to mediate a peace settlement with the United States.[1] (It is not unusual for a country that wants to surrender to ask another country to speak for it at first and help negotiate a settlement.) There was only one condition that the Japanese insisted on—they wanted to keep their Emperor, the symbol of Japanese culture. The United States never even talked with the Japanese about surrender terms—American leaders kept demanding unconditional surrender. After we used the bombs and the Japanese surrendered, we let them keep their Emperor anyway. We could have allowed the Japanese to surrender earlier and saved all those lives obliterated by the bombs by letting them have their one condition in the first place.

(3) If the bombs were not used to bring about surrender, then why were they used? The plain truth is that they were used to scare Russia. In 1945 the United States disagreed with the Soviet Union in regard to Russia's actions in Europe. Our leaders felt that by showing the Russians we had a powerful weapon, we could get them to agree to our terms in Europe and Asia. As Secretary of War Stimson said in his diary, in diplomacy the bomb would be a "master card."[2]

(4) President Truman had an important meeting scheduled with the Russian leader, Josef Stalin, at Potsdam, Germany in July 1945. He wanted to have the bomb completed and successfully tested when he went into that meeting. Atomic scientist J. Robert

[Continued on next page.]

Historian A

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Oppenheimer said, "We were under incredible pressure to get it [the bomb] done before the Potsdam meeting."[3] Truman hoped to have the bomb sticking out of his hip pocket, so to speak, when he negotiated with Stalin. Then he could make new demands of the Russians regarding eastern Europe. He told some of his friends at Potsdam before the final test, "If it explodes as I think it will, I'll certainly have a hammer on those boys."[4]

(5) While Truman was negotiating in Potsdam, the bomb was successfully tested in New Mexico, and he became more demanding with Stalin. Secretary of War Stimson stated, "He [Truman] said it [the bomb] gave him an entirely new feeling of confidence...."[5]

(6) But the Russians had to see the power of the bomb before the United States could intimidate them with it. This was accomplished at Hiroshima. Truman remarked, "This is the greatest thing in history!"[6]

(7) A second motive for dropping the bomb was to end the war in Asia before the Russians could get involved. The Japanese were talking of surrender, but the United States wanted surrender within days, not a negotiated surrender taking weeks to complete. The Russians had agreed at Yalta to enter the war against Japan three months after the end of the war in Europe. This would be three months after May 9, or somewhere around August 9. If the Russians got involved in the war in Asia, they could spread Communism to China and other countries and possibly to Japan itself. American leaders did not want to see this happen.[7]

(8) If the United States could speed up the Japanese surrender, we could avoid all these problems. We dropped the first bomb on August 6; Russia entered the war on the eighth, and we dropped the second bomb on the ninth. Don't these dates look suspicious? No country could surrender in only three days—it takes longer than that to make such an important decision. We would not wait longer because we wanted Japan to surrender before the Russians could get involved.

(9) Some scientists who worked on the bomb recommended that it not be dropped on people. They proposed that the United States demonstrate the bomb's power to Japanese leaders by dropping it on an uninhabited island. American political leaders rejected this idea. The devastating effect of the bomb had to be shown by destroying a city.

(10) Even top military leaders opposed the use of the atomic bomb.[8] The bomb would have little effect on the war, they argued, since the Japanese were already trying to surrender.

(11) All this evidence shows that the atomic bombs were not used to end the war and save lives, but rather to scare the Russians and speed up the end of the war before Russian influence spread further into Asia. The killing of over 100,000 civilians in one country in order to scare the leaders of another country was wrong. The United States was not justified in dropping the atomic bombs.

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Endnotes for Historian A (All are quotes from the sources cited except bracketed portions.)

[1] Gar Alperovitz (a historian), *Atomic Diplomacy* (1965). (Direct quotations from *Foreign Relations Papers of the United States: Conference at Berlin*, Vol. II, pp. 1249, 1250, 1260, 1261.)

> "On July 17, the day of the first plenary session, another intercepted Japanese message showed that although the government felt that the unconditional surrender formula involved too great a dishonor, it was convinced that 'the demands of the times' made Soviet mediation to terminate the war absolutely essential. Further cables indicated that the one condition the Japanese asked was preservation of 'our form of government.' A message of July 25 revealed instructions to the [Japanese] Ambassador in Moscow to go anywhere to meet with [Soviet Foreign Minister] Molotov during the recess of the Potsdam meeting so as to 'impress them with the sincerity of our desire' to terminate the war. He was told to make it clear that 'we should like to communicate to the other party [the United States] through appropriate channels that we have no objection to a peace based on the Atlantic Charter.' The only 'difficult point is the...formality of unconditional surrender.'"

James F. Byrnes (Secretary of State), *All in One Lifetime*, p. 297:

> "July 28: Secretary Forrestal arrived and told me in detail of the intercepted messages from the Japanese government to Ambassador Sato in Moscow, indicating Japan's willingness to surrender."

[2] Stimson (Secretary of War) Diary , May 15:

> "The trouble is that the President has now promised apparently to meet Stalin and Churchill on the first of July [at Potsdam] and at that time these questions will become burning and it may become necessary to have it out with Russia on her relations to Manchuria and Port Arthur and various other parts of North China, and also the relations of China to us. Over any such tangled web of problems the S-1 secret [the atomic bomb] would be dominant and yet we will not know until after...that meeting, whether this is a weapon in our hands or not. We think it will be shortly afterwards, but it seems a terrible thing to gamble with such big stakes in diplomacy without having your master card in your hand."

Leo Szilard (an atomic scientist who opposed use of the bombs on Japan), Conversation with Secretary of State Byrnes. Recorded on August 24, 1944, in Stewart to Bush, Atomic Energy Commission Document 200. Manhattan Engineering District—Top Secret, National Archives, Record Group 77, Box 7, folder 12; Box 14, folder 4:

> [Szilard argued that we should not use the bomb.]
>
> "Byrnes - Our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable in Europe."
>
> "Szilard - [The] interests of peace might best be served and an arms race avoided by not using the bomb against Japan, keeping it secret, and letting the Russians think that our work on it had not succeeded."
>
> "Byrnes - How would you get Congress to appropriate money for atomic energy research if you do not show results for the money which has been spent already?"

[3] Atomic Energy Commission, Oppenheimer Hearings, p. 31.

[4] Jonathan Daniels (biographer), *The Man of Independence* (1950), p. 266.

[5] *Foreign Relations Papers of the United States: Conference at Berlin*, 1945, Vol. II, p. 1361.

Stimson Diary, July 22:

> "Churchill read Grove's report [on the successful testing of the atomic bomb in New Mexico] in full....He said, 'Now I know what happened to Truman yesterday. I couldn't understand it. When he got to the meeting after having read this report he was a changed man. He told the Russians just where they got on and off and generally bossed the whole meeting.'"

[6] Harry S. Truman, *Year of Decisions*, p. 421.

[7] Byrnes, *All in One Lifetime*, p. 300:

> "Though there was an understanding that the Soviets would enter the war three months after Germany surrendered, the President and I hoped that Japan would surrender before then."

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Endnotes for Historian A

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Secretary of War Stimson stated in his diary on August 10, 1945, that he urged the President that:

> "The thing to do was to get this surrender through as quickly as we can before Russia should get down in reach of the Japanese homeland....It was of great importance to get the homeland into our hands before the Russians could put in any substantial claim to occupy and help rule it."

[8] General Dwight Eisenhower, statement in "Ike on Ike," *Newsweek*, November 11, 1963, p. 107:

> "I voiced to him [Secretary of War Stimson] my grave misgivings, first on the basis of my belief that Japan was already defeated and that dropping the bomb was completely unnecessary and secondly, because I thought our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was, I thought, no longer necessary as a measure to save American lives. It was my belief that Japan was, at the very moment, seeking some way to surrender with a minimum loss of 'face.'...It wasn't necessary to hit them with that awful thing."

Admiral W.D. Leahy, *I Was There* (1950), p. 441:

> "It was my opinion that the use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender."

Air Force Chief of Staff LeMay, *New York Herald Tribune*, September 21, 1945:

> "The atomic bomb had nothing to do with the end of the war."

Historian B

(1) Dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki helped the United States avoid a costly invasion of Japan. It therefore saved lives in the long run, which makes it a justifiable action.

(2) It is true that the United States received some indication in the summer of 1945 that Japan was trying to surrender. Japan would not surrender unconditionally, however, and that was very important to the United States. The Germans had not surrendered unconditionally at the end of World War I and, as a result, they rose again to bring on World War II. The United States was not going to let that mistake happen again. As President Roosevelt said, "This time there will be no doubt about who defeated whom."[1]

(3) Although the Japanese military situation in July 1945 was approaching total defeat, many Japanese leaders hoped for one last ditch victory in order to get softer peace terms.[2] One of their hopes was to divide the Grand Alliance by getting Russia (which was not at the time at war with Japan) to be the intermediary for peace negotiations. Maybe the Allies would begin to disagree, the Japanese militarists reasoned, and Japan would get off easy. Their other hope was that they could inflict enough casualties on the American troops, or hold out long enough, to get the American public to pressure their leaders to accept something less than unconditional surrender.[3]

(4) Some historians argue that the only issue which prevented the Japanese from accepting unconditional surrender was their fear that the Emperor would be removed by the Americans. American leaders, however, believed that allowing this one condition would encourage the militarists in Japan to further resistance. Americans also felt that it would weaken the war effort in

[Continued on next page.]

Historian B

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the United States since we would be deviating from our well-publicized policy of unconditional surrender.[4]

(5) Some Japanese leaders wanted much more, however, than just the one condition of keeping their Emperor. They wanted their troops to surrender to them, and they wanted no occupation of Japan or war crimes trials of Japanese leaders. Even on August 9, after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and after the Russian declaration of war against them, the Japanese leaders still could not agree to surrender.[5] This shows that the bombs were necessary—anything less than the bombs or invasion would not have brought about unconditional surrender.

(6) Some people believe that the dates of dropping the bombs (August 6 and 9) show that the United States dropped them to stop Russian entry into the war (August 8). There are two problems with this line of reasoning. First, the United States did not know the exact date of Russian entry. Second, the bombs were to be dropped when a military officer decided that the weather was right.[6] If Truman wanted to beat the Russians, why didn't he order the bombs to be dropped sooner, or why didn't he give in on unconditional surrender?

(7) The argument that the United States dropped the bombs in order to threaten the Russians is also weak. The fact that we were so unsuccessful in getting the Russians to agree to our policies in Europe shows that the bomb was not used for that reason. It must have been used to shorten the war. It certainly did not scare the Russians.

(8) Some American scientists opposed using the bomb on civilian or military targets, preferring to demonstrate it on an uninhabited island. This recommendation was studied carefully by a committee (the Interim Committee) set up to consider how to use the bomb. The committee said that a demonstration could have had a lot of problems, which would have wasted one of the bombs and precious time. In light of the fact that it took two bombs dropped on cities to bring about a surrender, the demonstration idea does not seem like it would have been effective. The committee recommended the bombs be used against military targets.[7]

(9) It is important to remember that on July 26, 1945, the United States warned the Japanese that we would use the atomic bomb against them unless they accepted unconditional surrender.[8] The fanatical Japanese leaders would not give in. They said they would ignore the warning.[9] Thus, the loss of life from the atomic bombings was the responsibility of the Japanese leaders, not the Americans.

(10) The United States was right in insisting on unconditional surrender. Since the Japanese would not surrender unconditionally, and since a demonstration bombing would not have been effective, the only alternative to using the atomic bombs was continuing the war. This would have cost hundreds of thousands more lives. In the long run, the use of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki shortened the war and saved lives.

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Endnotes for Historian B (All are quotes from the sources cited except bracketed portions.)

[1] President Roosevelt at a press conference, *F.D.R.: Public Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. XIII, p. 210:

> "Practically all Germans deny the fact they surrendered in the last war, but this time they are going to know it. And so are the Japs."

[2] *Command Decisions* (a history of World War II), p. 504, quotes a study done by Brigadier General George A. Lincoln, 4 June 1945:

> "In allied intelligence Japan was portrayed as a defeated nation whose military leaders were blind to defeat....Japan was still far from surrender. She had ample reserves of weapons and ammunition and an army of 5,000,000 troops, 2,000,000 of them in the home islands....In the opinion of the intelligence experts, neither blockade nor bombing alone would produce unconditional surrender before the date set for invasion [November 1945]. And the invasion itself, they believed, would be costly and possibly prolonged."

[3] *Command Decisions*, p. 517:

> "The militarists [in the Japanese Government] could and did minimize the effects of the bomb, but they could not evade the obvious consequences of Soviet intervention, which ended all hope of dividing their enemies and securing softer peace terms."

[4] *Command Decisions*, pp. 512–13, summarizing former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 1593:

> "[Cordell] Hull's view...was the proposal [by Secretary of War Stimson to let the Japanese keep the Emperor] smacked of appeasement....The proposal to retain the imperial system might well encourage resistance [by the Japanese] and have 'terrible political repercussions' in the United States."

[5] Robert Butow (a historian), *Japan's Decision to Surrender* (1959), pp. 161, 163, 164. (Describing the debate among the six Japanese leaders about whether to surrender, August 9, 1945.)

> "While Susuki, [Prime Minister], Togo [Foreign Minister] and Yonai [Navy Minister] were committed in varying degrees to an outright acceptance [of the Potsdam Declaration demanding unconditional surrender] on the basis of the sole reservation that the Imperial house would be maintained, Anami [War Minister], Umezu [Army Chief of Staff], and Toyoda [Navy Chief of Staff], felt quite differently....What gagged these men—all true 'Samurai' bred in an uncompromising tradition—were the other points Yonai had mentioned. They wanted either to prevent a security occupation entirely or to exclude at least the metropolis of Tokyo....So far as war criminals were concerned, they felt it should be Japan and not the victorious enemy who must try such cases. In effect, they also wanted to accept the surrender of their own men....
>
> "From the standpoint of making postwar rationalizations and of 'opening up the future of the country' it was psychologically vital for the Japanese army and navy to make it appear as if they had voluntarily disbanded their military might in order to save the nation and the world at large from the continued ravages of war. If they could do this, they could very easily later plant an appealing suggestion to the effect that the imperial forces of Great Japan had not really suffered defeat at all. For this reason, too, a security occupation and war crimes trials conducted by Allied tribunals had to be avoided at all costs....
>
> "Togo pointedly asked whether Japan could win the war if a collapse of the type [of negotiations] occurred. To this the military heads could only reply that although they were not certain of ultimate victory, they were still capable of one more campaign—a 'decisive' battle in the homeland....The Council was deadlocked."

[6] Memorandum to Major General I.R. Groves from Brigadier General T.F. Farrell
Subject: Report on Overseas Operations—Atomic Bomb:
27 September 1945

> "After the Hiroshima strike we scheduled the second attack for 11 August [local time]. On learning that bad weather was predicted for that time, we reviewed the status of the assembly

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Endnotes for Historian B

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> work for the Fat Man [the second atomic bomb], our uncompleted test program, and readiness of the planes and crews. It was determined that with an all-out effort, everything could be ready for takeoff on the early morning of 9 August [local time], provided our final test of the Fat Man proved satisfactory, which it did. The decision turned out to be fortunate in that several days of bad weather followed 9 August."

[7] Interim Committee report, June 1, 1945, from Harry S. Truman, *Year of Decisions*, p. 419:

> "Recommend unanimously:
>
> "1. The bomb should be used against Japan as soon as possible.
>
> "2. It should be used against a military target surrounded by other buildings.
>
> "3. It should be used without prior warning of the nature of the weapon."

[8] Proclamation for Unconditional Surrender, July 26, 1945. *Foreign Relations Papers of the United States: Potsdam Papers*, Vol. II, p. 1258:

> "Section 13: We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of the Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurance of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction."

[9] *Foreign Relations Papers of the United States: Potsdam Papers,* Document 12518, July 28, 1945. Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki to reporters:

> "I believe the Joint Proclamation [the Potsdam Proclamation—warning Japan to accept unconditional surrender] by the three countries is nothing but a rehash of the Cairo Declaration [which also called on Japan to surrender]. As for the [Japanese] Government, it does not find any important value in it, and there is no other recourse but to ignore it entirely and resolutely fight for the successful conclusion of the war."

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Relevant Information

1. Harry S. Truman, *Year of Decisions*, p. 421:

   "[When I was informed of the successful bombing of Hiroshima] I was greatly moved. I telephoned [Secretary of State] Byrnes aboard ship to give him the news and then said to the group of sailors around me, 'This is the greatest thing in history. It's time for us to get home.' I could not keep back my expectation that the Pacific war might now be brought to a speedy end."

2. Henry L. Stimson, (Secretary of War in 1945), "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Harper's* CLCIV, February, 1947, p. 101. Report of the Scientific Panel, June 16, 1945:

   "The opinions of our scientific colleagues on the initial use of these weapons are not unanimous: they range from the proposal of a purely technical demonstration to that of the military application best designed to induce surrender."

3. Joseph Davies (United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1945) Diary, July 28, 1945:

   "[Secretary of State Byrnes] was having a hard time with reparations [for the Soviets] but the details as to the success of the atomic bomb, which he had just received, gave him confidence that the Soviets would agree as to these difficulties. Byrnes' attitude that the atomic bomb assured ultimate success in negotiations disturbed me more than his description of its success amazed me. I told him that threat wouldn't work, and might do irreparable harm."

4. Meeting at the White House, June 18, 1945. President Truman wrote down a point made by the Joint Chiefs on invading Japan:

   "In all, it had been estimated [by the Joint Chiefs] that it would require until the late fall of 1946 to bring Japan to her knees."

5. Joseph Grew, (Acting Secretary of State, May 1945), *Turbulent Era*, Vol. II, (Boston, 1952):

   "In the light of available evidence I, myself, and others felt and still feel that if such a categorical statement about the dynasty [that the Japanese would be allowed to keep it] had been issued in May 1945 the surrender elements in the [Japanese] government might well have been afforded by such a statement a valid reason and the necessary strength to come to an early clear-cut decision [for surrender before the bombs were dropped]."

Atomic Bomb — Values Survey

Q Suppose you found the following information. Check whether you think each would justify or not justify the United States dropping the atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945. Remember that the statements are not necessarily true. The question is, "If this statement is true, would it have justified or not justified the dropping of the atomic bombs?" In August 1945 the United States was not getting along with our ally, Russia, which was a Communist country.

SUPPOSE YOU FOUND THAT	JUSTIFIED	NOT JUSTIFIED
1. The United States warned the Japanese to surrender or be wiped out by the bombs.		
2. The United States dropped the bombs to end the war quickly and save many lives in the long run.		
3. The United States dropped the bombs primarily to scare the Russians and make them give in to our demands in Europe.		
4. The Japanese leaders were trying to surrender and the American leaders knew it.		
5. Although the Japanese leaders were thinking about surrendering, they had a lot of conditions (limits) to the surrender which would allow them to say later that they had not really surrendered.		
6. The United States dropped the bombs to end the war before the Russians could attack Japan and Manchuria. Otherwise the Russians would have gained control of parts of Japan and China.		
7. The United States could have demonstrated the bomb to the Japanese leaders on an uninhabited island.		
8. The United States never tried to discuss surrendering with the Japanese leaders.		
9. The head United States military leaders in 1945 were opposed to dropping the atomic bombs on Japanese cities.		
10. The United States had spent a lot of time and money on the bombs and wanted to see how they worked.		
11. The United States dropped the bombs as revenge for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.		

LESSON 21 Who Primarily Caused the Cold War?

Background Information

Since Russia became a Communist country (renamed the Soviet Union or U.S.S.R.) in 1917 there has been hostility between it and the United States. This hostility is due in large part to the vast differences in ideology (set of beliefs) between the two countries. The Soviet Union, as a Communist country, believes in the overthrow of capitalists in all countries to provide more equality and, ultimately, freedom for the working classes (called proletariat). The United States, as a capitalist country, believes in individual rights and private property and, as such, is appalled by Soviet violations of rights and confiscation (government take over) of people's property. Thus, the two countries have been suspicious, fearful, and hostile toward each other.

During World War II the United States and the Soviet Union cooperated enough as allies to defeat Nazi Germany. Near the end of the war the old suspicions and hostility returned as the contrary ideologies reemerged. The tensions increased greatly after the war, reaching a peak in the late 1940s. Much of the tension arose over Soviet domination (take over) of Eastern Europe.

Historians call this tension and diplomatic hostility (but lack of all-out war) after World War II, the Cold War. In many respects, the Cold War continued through the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. The fear and tension continued to a greater or lesser extent through the whole time period. During the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), for example, tensions were very great indeed, while during the period of detente in the 1970s tensions were not so strong.

In 1989 the Soviets loosened some of their control over eastern Europe. The Berlin Wall was taken down and in 1990 Germany was reunited. Most historians and political experts say that the Cold War ended in 1989.

The question we are going to deal with in this lesson is: "Which side, the United States or the Soviet Union, was primarily responsible for causing the Cold War at the end of World War II?" There are many other issues which could be explored on the topic of the Cold War, and some people feel the question of which side caused the Cold War is not that important. Nevertheless, many historians do think it is important and continue to debate it, and many interesting arguments have been made on the topic.

There were many issues in the 1940s which were important to the origins of the Cold War, such as: reparations (war payments) to the Soviet Union from Germany, the division of Germany into zones of occupation, and crises in Turkey and Iran. These other issues have been debated by historians. In this lesson, however, we will stick to issues revolving around eastern Europe, especially Soviet control of the region.

You will read two interpretations about how the Cold War began and who was responsible for it. Follow the instructions your teacher gives you.

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In order to understand the debate on the Cold War, you need to understand some terms used in the controversy.

Revisionists Historians who primarily blame the United States for starting the Cold War.

Self-determination The right of each country to rule itself free from outside interference.

Spheres of influence A strong country dominates weaker countries in an area. Spheres of influence conflict, at least to some extent, with self-determination since when a weak country is dominated by another country, it is not ruling itself free from outside interference.

Traditionalists Historians who believe that the Soviet Union was primarily responsible for the Cold War.

Interpretation A

(1) Traditionalist historians believe that Soviet domination of eastern Europe was the main cause of the Cold War. A closer examination of what happened at the end of World War II reveals many weaknesses in this naively patriotic view. United States policy, not Soviet aggression, was the key to the problems between Russia and America.

(2) It is important to remember that the Soviet Union was invaded through eastern Europe by Germany during World War II. In this invasion millions of Soviets were killed. Josef Stalin, the Soviet leader, was committed to preventing any future invasions. He wanted governments in eastern Europe that would be friendly to the Soviet Union. Future aggressors would thereby have to attack these countries before reaching Soviet soil.

(3) Stalin believed in spheres of influence, and he thought he had an understanding with Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt that eastern Europe was in the Soviet sphere of influence. After all, Britain had her own sphere of influence in the worldwide British Empire and the United States had its sphere of influence in Latin America. The United States telling Russia to give up its domination of Rumania would be like the Soviets telling the Americans to give up their domination of Mexico.

(4) Moreover, Stalin and Churchill had made an agreement in October 1944 to divide eastern Europe into spheres of influence: Rumania and Bulgaria were to be the "main concern" of the U.S.S.R., Greece was to be the "main concern" of Britain, and the two countries would have equal concern in Hungary and Yugoslavia.[1] When the United States approved the agreement on a trial basis,[2] Stalin must surely have felt that the three powers had reached an understanding that Europe was to be divided into spheres. Later, when the British smashed the Communists in Greece, Stalin did not help the Greek Communists, showing that he would abide by the agreement.[3]

(5) It was under these circumstances

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Interpretation A

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that the Russians moved into eastern Europe as they pushed back the Nazi invaders at the end of World War II. It is important to remember that most eastern European countries had never been democratic, and three of them (Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary) were allied with Germany during the war. Under the conditions of war, moreover, the Soviets sometimes had to take harsh measures in the areas they captured.

(6) Nevertheless, the Soviets did allow considerable freedom in eastern Europe. Free elections were held in several countries. Bulgaria's elections under Soviet occupation were declared to be the freest in the country's history.[4] Many Communists were elected throughout eastern Europe since Communists were popular, especially with poor peasants. Communists were popular because they had been underground fighters against the Germans and because they believed in dividing the wealthy landowners' property among the peasants.[5]

(7) One country in eastern Europe presented special problems for the Soviets—Poland. The Poles had a government in exile in London, England during the war. (Poland had been conquered by Germany in 1939.) The London Poles were hostile to Russia even before the Yalta Conference (where issues relating to Poland were negotiated). Poland demanded that they keep some Russian territory captured in 1920. Even Churchill agreed with the Russian claim to the land.[6] And the Polish underground threatened to fight the Russians (which would help the Germans) if the Russians moved into Poland before agreeing that the Poles would get the disputed land.[7]

(8) At Yalta in February 1945, Stalin insisted that the Lublin Poles (Polish Communist leaders who were pro-Soviet) control the new Polish government. He compromised and allowed the London Poles to have six of the twenty ministries in the new government. President Roosevelt himself said that the Lublin Poles were the basis of the new government according to the Yalta Agreements.[8]

(9) Stalin even agreed in the Declaration of Liberated Europe to the idea of free elections in eastern Europe. He knew that Roosevelt was interested, however, primarily in the *promise* of free elections. Roosevelt had told Stalin in 1943 at the Teheran Conference that he would not oppose Stalin's dominance over eastern Europe as long as it did not upset the millions of American voters of eastern-European background. He told the Soviet leader that the promise of an election would make Soviet dominance more acceptable to the American public.[9] The Declaration of Liberated Europe only called for the three powers—Britain, America, and Russia—to consult each other about starting self-governments. No country was obligated to do anything specific.[10] Stalin realized that the Declaration of Liberated Europe and the Agreement on Poland were negotiated by the Americans primarily to please the voters at home.

(10) Thus, the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union had reached a series of agreements and understandings about the Soviet sphere of influence in eastern Europe up to April 1945. Within their sphere, the Soviets showed flexibility. In some countries there was considerable freedom and elections were held. All countries had to meet with Stalin's one overriding require-

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Interpretation A

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ment, however; they all had to be friendly to the Soviet Union.

(11) Then Roosevelt died and all the agreements and understandings fell apart. Harry Truman became President and, backed by the atomic bomb, he soon began attacking the Soviet sphere in eastern Europe. He said the Lublin Poles should not control most of the ministries in the Polish Government. He said the Russians could "go to hell."[11] The United States threatened the Soviets and began building up Germany again—the very thing the Russians feared most!

(12) The Russians began to tighten their grip on eastern Europe in response to these American threats, although in 1945 and 1946 they still allowed considerable freedom in Hungary, Bulgaria, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. Then in 1947, President Truman declared Cold War on the Soviet Union. In the Truman Doctrine he characterized the world as being divided into good (the United States) and evil (the Soviet Union). He said the Soviets relied on terror and oppression, and he said it was the policy of the United States to help other countries stop the Soviets.[12] The Russians now clamped down on eastern Europe to protect themselves. The Cold War had begun due to the hostile and uncompromising policies adopted by the Truman Administration.

Endnotes for Interpretation A

[1] Winston Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy* (1953), p. 227.

Meeting in Moscow, October 9, 1944:

"While this was being translated I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper:

Rumania
  Russia 90%
  The others 10%
Greece
  Great Britain (in accord with U.S.A.) 90%
  Russia 10%
Yugoslavia 50-50%
Hungary 50-50%
Bulgaria
  Russia 75%
  The others 25%

"I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set down."

[2] Briefing Book enclosed in a letter, January 24, 1945, *Foreign Relations Papers of the United States 1945, Conferences at Malta and Yalta* (hereafter *Yalta Papers*), pp. 104–5:

"AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

"—Mr. Churchill suggested to the President [Roosevelt] that the arrangement [made between Churchill and Stalin on spheres of influence] be given a three-month's trial, subject then to review by the three Governments, to which the President's assent was given."

[3] Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 293:

"Stalin, however, adhered strictly and faithfully to our agreement of October, and during all

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Endnotes for Interpretation A
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> the long weeks of fighting the Communists in the streets of Athens [Greece], not one word of reproach [criticism] came from *Pravda* or *Isvestia* [Soviet newspapers]."

[4] *Foreign Relations Papers of the United States* (hereafter *Foreign Relations*), 1945, Vol. II, p. 731:

> "[Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov] read a press report taken from the *New York Times* concerning the orderly fashion in which the elections in Bulgaria had taken place. He said no one could deny the fact that there was wider participation in these elections than in any other in the history of Bulgaria."

[5] Zbigniew Brzezinski (historian, political scientist), *The Soviet Bloc* (1960), pp. 7, 19:

> "To the peasants [of Eastern Europe] prospects of land reform held out a vision of the fulfillment of their most cherished dream, and one much too long denied.
>
> "To most people in war-devastated Eastern Europe, rapid economic reconstruction was the most vital issue, even more so than politics. And to a majority of them, state planning [Communism] appeared necessary and logical.
>
> "The rapid growth of its membership soon made the Communist Party the leading party [in Czechoslovakia]. It justified its claim to this distinction by polling 38 percent of the vote in the free elections held in April 1946."

Also, Martin Herz [historian], *Beginnings of the Cold War* (1966), pp. 135–36:

> "Surprisingly free elections took place in Hungary under Soviet occupation in November 1945, in which the Smallholders [a conservative noncommunist party] obtained a smashing majority."

[6] Winston Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate* (1950), p. 327.

Churchill to President Roosevelt, April 23, 1942:

> "The principles of the Atlantic Charter ought not to be construed so as to deny Russia the frontiers she occupied when Germany attacked her [which included the part of Poland that Russia was claiming]. This was the basis on which Russia acceded [agreed] to the Charter."

[7] Cordell Hull (American Secretary of State), *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 1316.

(Secretary Hull is describing a memorandum sent to him from the Polish Ambassador to the United States. The portion quoted is from the memorandum itself.)

> "The Polish ambassador threatened that, if Soviet troops entered Polish territory without previous resumption of Polish-Soviet relations, the Polish Government would 'undertake political action against this violation of Polish sovereignty.'"

[8] *Foreign Relations, 1945*, Vol V., pp. 353–54.

The United States Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Averell Harriman) to the Secretary of State, Moscow, June 21, 1945–Midnight:

> "Thus there will be six new Ministries out of a total of twenty.... The fundamental basis of the reorganized government is that the Workers Party [Lublin], the Peasant Party [London] and the Socialist Party [Lublin] shall each have six portfolios and two are to be held by other democratic parties."

Also, Herbert Feis (historian), *Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin—The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought* (1957), p. 575. (Note: The actual message was not published in 1957. Feis had access to official United States sources and quoted from the original document.)

Message to Churchill from Roosevelt:

> "If we attempt to evade the fact that we placed, as clearly shown by the [Yalta] agreement, somewhat more emphasis on the Lublin Poles than on the other two groups from which the Government is to be drawn, we expose ourselves to the charge that we are attempting to go back on the Crimea [Yalta] decision."

[9] *Foreign Relations, 1943*, Vol. III, *The Teheran Conference*, pp. 594–95:

Roosevelt-Stalin Meeting, December 1, 1943, 3:20 p.m., Roosevelt's Quarters, Soviet Embassy

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Endnotes for Interpretation A

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(President Roosevelt is speaking to Marshal Stalin):

"He [Roosevelt] added that there were in the United States from six to seven million Americans of Polish extraction and, as a practical man, he did not wish to lose their vote.

"The President went on to say that there were a number of persons of Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian origin, in that order, in the United States.

"The President [said] it would be helpful for him personally if some public declaration in regard to the future elections, to which the Marshal [Stalin] had referred, could be made."

[10] Quoted in Martin Hertz, *Beginnings*, pp. ix–x.

Declaration on Liberated Europe, February 11, 1945:

"To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights [for self-government], the three governments will jointly assist the people....
(c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections....
"When, in the opinion of the three governments, conditions in any European liberated state or any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration..."

Signed at Yalta by Prime Minister Churchill, President Roosevelt, and Premier Stalin.

[11] *Stalin Correspondence* (1951), Vol. II, pp. 218–19. (A collection of writings to and from Marshal Stalin during World War II, published by the Soviet Government. This particular excerpt is from a note from Truman to Stalin.)

"The United States Government cannot be a party to any method of consultation with Polish leaders which would not result in the establishment of a new Provisional Government of National Unity genuinely representative of the democratic elements of the Polish people."

Also, *Foreign Relations, 1945*, Vol. V, p. 253 (Truman speaking):

"Our agreements with the Soviet Union so far...[have] been a one-way street....If the Russians do not wish to join us, they could go to hell."

[12] Truman Doctrine, Speech before Congress, March 12, 1947. Quoted in John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War*, p. 351:

"At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

"One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

"The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

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Interpretation B

(1) The Soviet takeover of eastern Europe after World War II was a major cause of the Cold War. Many of the disputes between the United States and the U.S.S.R. arose because of Soviet domination of this area. Amazingly, however, revisionist historians (such as Interpretation A) make excuses for the Soviet takeover and blame the resulting problems instead on the United States! The Russians, so the argument goes, had legitimate reasons for occupying eastern Europe—they wanted a buffer against future German attacks; they felt that the United States and Britain had spheres of influence of their own, so the U.S.S.R. was entitled to its sphere in eastern Europe; and they felt that their sphere in eastern Europe had been agreed to by the United States and Britain. This view is a serious distortion of the truth.

(2) While the Russians may have been concerned about future German attacks through eastern Europe, this was not an immediate worry since Germany was so weak after World War II. As will be shown, the Soviets gave this reason as an excuse to cover for the real reason for their takeover: the Russians actually took eastern Europe to spread Communism.

(3) The Soviets justified their control over eastern Europe on the basis of spheres of influence. They argued that the western Allies (Britain and America) had agreed that eastern Europe was in the Soviet sphere. This argument is based upon a 1944 agreement between Churchill and Stalin in which Britain was to have controlling interest in Greece; Russia was to have controlling interest in Rumania and Bulgaria; and the two countries were to have equal say in Yugoslavia and Hungary. In reality, however, Churchill made it clear that he meant "controlling interest" to apply only to wartime occupation and not to any postwar sphere of influence.[1] Moreover, the United States never consented to this agreement on a permanent basis. American leaders, taking a lesson from history, were consistently opposed to anything remotely close to sphere-of-influence arrangements made in secret.[2] They noticed what had happened when the European Allies made secret deals (in which the powers divided up territory among themselves) during World War I. When the arrangements were discovered and publicized, the prestige of the Allies had plummeted.

(4) Neither the British nor the Americans gave their consent to a Russian sphere of influence in eastern Europe after World War II. The fact that Russia also included Czechoslovakia and Poland in its area of domination, despite the fact that those two countries were not included in the Churchill-Stalin deal, leads one to the obvious conclusion that Russia would have taken eastern Europe no matter what the United States or Britain did anywhere—Greece, Italy, Belgium, Latin America, Japan, or anywhere else.[3]

(5) What is relevant to the Soviet takeover of eastern Europe is the Soviet signature, at the Yalta Conference, to the Declaration of Liberated Europe. In it the Soviets promised to establish representative governments based on free elections in the areas they liberated from the Nazis.[4] The fact that they did not carry out this promise is the most important issue regarding eastern Europe and puts the blame squarely with the U.S.S.R.[5]

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Interpretation B

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(6) The fate of Poland is one of the most tragic of the countries in eastern Europe after World War II. The developments in Poland symbolized the overall harsh Russian measures in eastern Europe.

(7) The Polish people, as well as the Polish government-in-exile in London, feared the consequences of the Russian army's advance in 1944 and 1945 as the Germans retreated. The cynical Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, in which Poland was divided between Germany and Russia, the Russian murder of 15,000 Polish officers in the Katyn Woods,[6] and the Russian refusal to help the Polish underground in Warsaw as it was being wiped out by the Germans[7] all showed the Poles that they had little reason to trust and much reason to fear Russia.

(8) As Russia "liberated" Poland, it became more and more obvious that the worst Polish fears would come true—Polish freedom was to be snuffed out. First, the Russians demanded that part of Poland be given to the U.S.S.R. This was in direct violation of the right of self-determination as set forth in the Atlantic Charter. The Russians, however, cared little for the rights of other countries. They next installed their own handpicked Communist government in Poland. This puppet government's leaders were trained in the town of Lublin in the U.S.S.R.[8] The United States protested at the Yalta Conference against rule by the Lublin Poles alone and, as a result, the Soviets promised to reorganize the Lublin Government on a broader democratic basis to include the London (pro-democracy) Poles, and to hold free elections.[9] The free elections were never held, and the Lublin Poles continued to rule the country, converting it into a Communist nation.[10] Russia thought little of Poland's right to self-determination.

(9) The Russians extinguished rights in a similar harsh fashion in all the eastern European countries.[11] The Soviet Union exercised totalitarian (total) control over the area (for example, they did not allow free speech) to the same extent that Hitler's Germany had controlled the countries it conquered. It is this type of domination which makes Russia's "sphere of influence" so different from the spheres of influence of other powers. It is true that Britain has more say about actions and policies in the countries in the British Empire than do other powers, and that the United States has more say about what goes on in Latin America than do other powers. The United States and Britain, however, do not dominate the countries in their respective spheres in the same way that Russia dominates the countries in her sphere. It is one thing for a country to be dominant in a smaller country's economy; it is quite another matter to take away all rights and freedoms in that smaller country.

(10) The reaction of the United States to Russian expansion into and domination of eastern Europe was entirely to be expected. The United States could not sit idly by while people had their freedom taken away. Thousands of Americans had died in World War II to preserve the freedom of countries threatened by aggressor nations. How could the United States now allow Soviet aggression in eastern Europe? American leaders realized that to "appease" a dictator (as Neville Chamberlain had done with Hitler at Munich when he allowed Hitler to take over

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Interpretation B

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part of Czechoslovakia in the hope that Hitler would demand no more territory) was to encourage further aggression.[12] If the United States conceded eastern Europe to Soviet control, then Stalin would soon be making attempts to control western Europe.[13] The peoples of both eastern and western Europe deserved the right to be left to choose their own leaders and their own types of government without interference from Communist Russia. In standing up for the rights of those people, the United States chose the only morally right course.

Endnotes for Interpretation B

[1] Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, October 12, 1944, pp. 233–34:

> "The system of percentages [made in the meeting with Stalin; see endnote 1, Interpretation A] is not intended to prescribe the numbers sitting on commissions for the different Balkan countries, but rather to express the interest and sentiment with which the British and Soviet Governments approach the problems of these countries, and so that they might reveal their minds to each other in some way that could be comprehended. It is not intended to be more than a guide, and of course in no way commits the United States, nor does it attempt to set up a rigid system of spheres of interest. It may however help the United States to see how their two principal Allies feel about these regions when the picture is presented as a whole."

[2] Briefing Book enclosed in a letter, January 24, 1945, *Yalta Papers*, pp. 104–5.

American note sent to the Soviets and British about the October 9, 1944, agreement on percentages in eastern Europe:

> "Our assent to the trial period of three months was given in consideration of the present war strategy. Except for this overriding consideration, this Government would wish to make known its apprehension lest the proposed agreement might, by the natural tendency of such arrangements, lead to the division in fact of the Balkan region into spheres of influence."

[3] *Foreign Relations*, 1945, Vol. V, pp. 232–33:

(Conversation between the President, the Secretary of State, and others)

> April 20, 1945
>
> "At the President's request, [American] Ambassador [to the Soviet Union, Averell] Harriman then made a brief report on his opinion of the present problems facing the United States in relation to the Soviet Union. He said that he thought the Soviet Union had two policies which they thought they could successfully pursue at the same time—one, the policy of cooperation with the United States and Great Britain, and the other, the extension of Soviet control over neighboring states through unilateral action. He said that he thought our generosity and desire to cooperate was being misinterpreted in Moscow by certain elements around Stalin as an indication that the Soviet Government could do anything that it wished without having trouble with the United States.
>
> "Ambassador Harriman said that in effect what we were faced with was a "barbarian invasion of Europe," that Soviet control over any foreign country did not mean merely influence on their foreign relations, but the extension of the Soviet system with secret police, extinction of freedom of speech, etc., and that we had to decide what should be our attitude in the face of these unpleasant facts."

[4] For the text of the Declaration, see endnote 10, Interpretation A.

[5] James F. Byrnes, *Speaking Frankly* (1947), p. 52:

(The Soviet Ambassador to Rumania, Mr. Vyshinski, is arguing with the King of Rumania about

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Endnotes for Interpretation B

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appointing a new leader in the country.)

"Shortly afterward Mr. Vyshinski sent word to the King that the Communist leader, Petru Groza, was the choice of the Soviet Government.

"Mr. Vyshinski was quoted as saying that unless the King accepted the Groza government by the afternoon of the following day, he [Vyshinski] would not be responsible for the continuance of Rumania as an independent state."

Also, Truman Briefing Book for the Conference at Potsdam of July 1945, *Potsdam Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 258–59:

"The Russians have rejected British and American proposals that discussions should take place regarding the political situation in Rumania and elections in Bulgaria. These actions are not in accordance with the Crimea [Yalta] Declaration on Liberated Europe whereby the Big Three were to concert their policies in assisting the liberated peoples to solve their pressing political and economic problems by democratic means. Eastern Europe is, in fact, a Soviet sphere of influence."

[6] Herz (historian), *Beginnings of the Cold War* (1966), p. 45:

According to information available to the London Polish government, Lavrenty Beria, the head of the Soviet secret police, had declared to some Polish representatives as early as the spring of 1940 that in regard to the missing [Polish] officers, "a great mistake had been made."

On April 13, 1943, the German radio announced that on the basis of information furnished by the local population, the German authorities had found in the Forest of Katyn, near Smolensk, "the spot where in secret mass executions, the Bolsheviks [Russians] murdered 10,000 Polish officers."

[7] The Polish resistance fighters rose up in rebellion in Warsaw against the Germans as the Soviet Army approached the city, but the Russian army stopped while the Germans wiped out the Polish resistance.

Herz, *Beginnings of the Cold War*, p. 57:

"The Polish underground in Warsaw was soon opposed by five picked German divisions and it was clear that the fate of the uprising depended on the speed of the Russian advance into the city. The Russian troops, however, arranged themselves on the eastern bank of the Vistula to the north and south of Warsaw and marked time."

[8] Truman, *Year of Decisions*, p. 36:

"The tragic fact was that, though we were allies of Russia, we had not been permitted to send our observers into Poland. Russia was in full military occupation of the country at the time and had given her full support to the so-called Lublin government—a puppet regime of Russia's own making."

[9] Quoted in Herz, *Beginnings of the Cold War*, p. x.

Declaration on Poland, February 11, 1945:

"A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This called for the establishment of a Polish Provisional Government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of western Poland. The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new Government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity....

"This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates...."

Signed at Yalta by Prime Minister Churchill,
President Roosevelt, and Marshal Stalin

[Continued on next page.]

Endnotes for Interpretation B

[Continued from previous page.]

[10] *Stalin Correspondence*, Vol. II, pp. 202–3.

Note to Stalin from Roosevelt, April, 1945:

> "While it is true that the Lublin Government is to be reorganized and its members play a prominent role, it is to be done in such a fashion as to bring into being a new government. This point is clearly brought out in several places in the text of the Agreement. I must make it quite plain to you that any such solution which would result in a thinly disguised continuance of the present Warsaw regime [the Lublin Government] would be unacceptable and would cause the people of the United States to regard the Yalta agreements as having failed."

[11] "Study of Communism in Europe by the Special Assistant to the Director of European Affairs," enclosure in "Memorandum to the President, June 27, 1945," *Foreign Relations: Potsdam*, 1945, Vol. I, pp. 267–73.

(The study was completed on June 2, 1945.)

> "The generally belligerent treatment of democratic forces by communist elements in all eastern European countries is well-known in spite of the strict news censorship imposed in those areas by the Russians and their satellites. Professing to applaud democratic practices, those Communists in power in eastern Europe have applied terror, intimidation, mass deportation and murder under the guise of necessary purges, all of which has proved shocking to our concept of democracy and free speech. It is plain that democracy to a Communist has not the same connotation it has to an occidental [European or American] democrat."

[12] See, for example, the opinion of Ambassador Harriman in endnote 3, above.

[13] "Study of Communism," in *Foreign Relations: Potsdam*, pp. 267–73.

> "Within the past three months the Communist parties of France and Italy have openly advocated a return to fundamental Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist tactics. They declare that the time has come for a more radical solution of the economic and political conditions confronting those countries. The emphasis is again on the class character of the problem with the recommended solution lying in the expropriation of means of production [take-over of factories by the workers] and attacks on the capitalist class generally."

Relevant Information

1. *Foreign Relations*, 1945, Volume V, pp. 252–255.

Memorandum by Mr. Charles E. Bohlen, Assistant to the Secretary of State, of a Meeting at the White House, April 23, 1945, 2 p.m.:

> "The Secretary of State told the meeting that Mr. Molotov had arrived in good spirits yesterday and had had a good talk with the President yesterday evening but that at the Foreign Ministers meeting later great difficulties had developed over the Polish question. The continuance of the meeting this morning had produced no improvement and a complete deadlock had been reached on the subject of the carrying out of the Yalta agreement on Poland. The Secretary said that the truth of the matter was the Lublin or Warsaw Government was not representative of the Polish people and that it was now clear that the Soviet Government intended to try to enforce upon the United States and British Governments this puppet government of Poland and obtain its acceptance as the legal government of Poland.
>
> "The President said that he had told Mr. Molotov last night that he intended

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Relevant Information

[Continued from previous page.]

> fully to carry out all the agreements reached by President Roosevelt at the Crimea [Yalta]. He added that he felt our agreements with the Soviet Union so far had been a one-way street and that could not continue; it was now or never. He intended to go on with the plans for San Francisco [for the United Nations] and if the Russians did not wish to join us they could go to hell. The President then asked in rotation the officials present for their view."

2. Stanislow Mikolajczyk, (Prime Minister of the Polish Government in London during World War II), *The Rape of Poland—Pattern of Soviet Aggression* (1948) p. 267:

   > "Memorandum to the British Government—The Polish Government has, moreover, reasons to fear that in present conditions the life and property of Polish citizens may be exposed to danger after the entry of Soviet troops into Poland and the imposing on the country of Soviet administration. In that case, desperate reaction of the Polish community may be expected."

3. Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Soviet Bloc*, p. 12. Summarized from Mikolajczyk, *The Rape of Poland*:

   > "In a free election he [Mikolajczyk] most certainly would have won a sweeping victory....But free elections were not likely to occur. In Poland of 1945, all the levers of power were in Communists' hands, the Red Army was on the scene, and the NKVD [secret police] was active. Mikolajczyk's popularity under these conditions had no political significance, while the growing awareness of the absence of effective Western support made it possible [for the Communists] to apply increasing doses of terror against the Polish Peasant Party. In 1947, after the manipulated elections formalized the liquidation of his party, Mikolajczyk escaped abroad."

4. March 6, 1946, *Foreign Relations: 1946*, Volume V, p. 516:

   George Kennan, Charge d'affairs to the U.S.S.R. (Diplomatic representative in charge of the embassy during the absence of the Ambassador):

   > "There could be no doubt that Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, was acting 'as [a] Moscow stooge.'"

5. Martin Herz, *Beginnings of the Cold War*, p. 136:

   > "May 1945 Communists held 7 out of 25 Cabinet posts. Benes returned from London to rule Czechoslovakia in April 1945. Free elections were held in Czechoslovakia in 1946. Absolute control didn't come until 1948.
   >
   > "Czechoslovakia had a tradition of friendliness and cultural affinity with Russia...[which] was paralleled to some extent in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia."

LESSON 22

Was the United States Right to Get Involved in the Vietnam War?

Background Information

The Vietnam War has a long history. In the 1880s the French established the colony of Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos) and ruled it until World War II, when the Japanese invaded and took over. In 1945 the Japanese were defeated and the French returned. A revolutionary group, the Vietminh, led by Ho Chi Minh, opposed the French, resulting in war from 1946 to 1954. The French left after their military defeat at Dien Bien Phu. Vietnam was split into North (led by Ho Chi Minh) and South (led by Ngo Dinh Diem). Fighting now broke out in South Vietnam between what was called the National Liberation Front (the NLF or Vietcong) and the South Vietnamese government. The NLF was backed by North Vietnam, Russia and China, while the United States supported the South Vietnamese government.

The United States sent advisers to South Vietnam in the early 1960s, and large numbers of American soldiers in 1965. The American phase of the war lasted until 1973, when the last United States troops were withdrawn. The war ended in 1975 with North Vietnam taking over all of South Vietnam and making it Communist.

Historians of the Vietnam War can be divided into two broad schools (groups) of thought. One says we should never have been involved in Vietnam and realistically we could not have won. The other says we were right to be involved and we should have persevered to win the war. These two points of view are represented in this lesson. As you read them, you will learn a lot more details about the war. After you have read them, answer the questions on the two interpretations.

Note: Viet Nam (two words) is more correct than Vietnam (one word), but most Americans write it as one word. The two word form has been preserved in book titles and quotes in this lesson, when the original source used it.

Interpretation A

(1) The Vietnam War is a chapter of American history which many Americans would like to forget. The tragedy is that American involvement could have been avoided from the beginning. But American leaders, driven by fear of Communist expansion, committed ever increasing numbers of American men and amounts of American resources to a war which really was not in the country's national interest.

(2) It is important to remember that the Vietnam War was basically a struggle for independence. The Vietminh (Vietnamese who fought for independence) fought the Japanese, the French, and then the United States to achieve nationhood. American leaders even supported the Vietminh struggle at first. During World War II, the Vietminh and the American military worked together against the Japanese.[1] After World War II, the French moved back into Vietnam to retake control of their former colony. A war broke out between the Vietminh and the French. American leaders, remembering our

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Interpretation A

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own struggle for independence against the British, refused to aid the French.

(3) In 1950 America changed from this sensible policy. The "fall" of China to Communism, the Korean War, and the anti-communist charges by Senator Joseph McCarthy made American leaders paranoid about Communists.[2] The French argument that the Vietminh were Communists was now more convincing. By 1954 America was supplying the French with 80 percent of the cost of the Vietnam War.[3]

(4) The war went badly for the French. They were defeated in the May 1954 battle of Dien Bien Phu. They soon negotiated a peace settlement with the Vietminh at the Geneva Peace Conference. The country was *temporarily* divided. The French forces were to withdraw south of the 17th parallel and the Vietminh were to withdraw north of the line. The agreement further stated that there would be an election within two years to reunify the country.[4] Everyone agreed that the leader of the independence movement, Ho Chi Minh, would win that election.[5] He was the symbol of Vietnamese independence, just as George Washington represented American independence from England.

(5) At this point the United States could have stayed out of the situation and Vietnam would have become an independent Communist nation in 1956 under Ho Chi Minh. But the United States decided to intervene to stop the Vietminh.

(6) First, the United States made a military alliance called SEATO. According to the Geneva Conference, neither part of Vietnam could be part of an alliance. So the United States had "the free territory under the jurisdiction of Vietnam" added as a territory to be defended by the alliance.[6] The regroupment zone in the southern part of Vietnam, which was not a country and which did not participate in the SEATO talks, was made an honorary member of a military alliance!

(7) Second, the United States gave its backing to Ngo Dinh Diem as leader of a separate South Vietnamese government. Diem, who had been living in New Jersey up to 1954,[7] was viewed favorably by the United States since he also opposed the scheduled 1956 elections. In 1955 Diem, backed by American aid and in clear violation of the Geneva Agreement, declared that South Vietnam was a country, and stated that the nationwide elections would not be held.

(8) Diem was an oppressive ruler who created problems for himself by his foolish policies. First, he said that anyone who was or had been a Communist, or had associated with Communists could be thrown into jail. Anyone who had opposed French rule had associated with Communists in the Vietminh. Thus, any freedom-lover could now be thrown into jail! South Vietnam was a police state.[8]

(9) Second, Diem started a land reform program which "reduced" rents. But the peasants in Vietminh-controlled areas now owned their land (they paid no rent); the landlords had fled to the cities. The land reform program actually put many landlords back in control.[9] The South Vietnamese people hated these two policies.

(10) War again broke out, this time between the Vietcong (South Vietnamese who fought for independence) and Diem's authoritarian government. In 1960 the North Vietnamese began

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Interpretation A

[Continued from previous page.]

sending large amounts of aid to the Vietcong. The United States stepped up its military aid to the South Vietnamese government, and President Kennedy began sending American "advisers" to help the South Vietnamese military.

(11) By 1964 the United States could still have disengaged from Vietnam. The number of troops there was small—about 16,000—and few Americans had been killed, but President Johnson could not stand to see Vietnam become Communist. In the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (1964), Congress agreed to let the president use "whatever means necessary" to stop Communist aggression in Vietnam. American troops could now fight. In 1965 large numbers of American troops were committed to the war. By 1968 over 500,000 American troops were in Vietnam. President Johnson also increased the amount of bombing. The United States had dropped over 6 million tons of bombs on Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) by the end of the war, of which over 4 million fell on South Vietnam.[10] This is three times as much tonnage as was dropped by the United States in all of World War II.

(12) What did all these troops and bombings accomplish? Basically, they led to the destruction of Vietnamese society. Large numbers of innocent civilians were killed by American soldiers.[11] The My Lai Massacre was unusual because of the large number of civilians killed, but American soldiers killing civilians was not unusual. American generals emphasized number of enemy killed (called "body count"), rather than capture of territory. Officers were under pressure to get a high body count. This led to such expressions as, "If he's Vietnamese, and he's dead, he's Vietcong," and to the counting of bodies on the battlefield several times by different American troops. (For example, three dead bodies would lead to a count of three dead by the infantry, three by the artillery, and three by the Air Force.)

(13) Vietnamese civilians were also killed by bombings. From an airplane there is no possible way to separate civilians from guerrillas (which the Vietcong were), so large numbers of civilians had to be killed by the bombings. Each of the civilians killed had relatives who might then join the Vietcong out of hatred for the Americans.

(14) American firepower destroyed Vietnamese society and basically guaranteed we would lose the war. American generals did what they thought was best—use American weapons to defeat the enemy militarily. The problem was that the Vietnam War was a struggle for the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese peasants. You cannot win people over to your side by destroying their villages and killing their relatives. Our firepower continually created more enemies.

(15) Another way the United States could have disentangled itself from Vietnam was through a negotiated settlement between the Vietcong, the South Vietnamese Government, and the Buddhists. The Americans told the South Vietnamese not to negotiate.[12]

(16) No wonder American soldiers did not know what they were fighting for. There was no good reason for the fighting—we never should have become involved in Vietnam. Having continually lied to the American people about the war, the Johnson Administration was embarrassed by the unusual strength of the Vietcong in the 1968 Tet Offen-

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Interpretation A

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sive.[13] The Administration had said that the enemy was too weak to attack. American citizens wondered if government statements were truthful and began to protest against the war in large numbers. By 1973 the continuous protests gradually brought an end to the insanity of American involvement in the Vietnam War.

(17) The United States consciously became involved in a war in which it had no business. It tried to fight the political war by military firepower. But American firepower only made more Vietnamese join the guerrilla side. We could not win as long as most South Vietnamese supported the Vietcong. In the end, the American people forced the end of the useless killing in this needless war.

Endnotes for Interpretation A

[1] Bernard Fall (historian), *The Two Viet Nams* (1964), pp. 100–101.

[2] Statement by President Truman linking aid to Vietnam with United States intervention in the Korean War. *Department of State Bulletin*, July 3, 1950, p. 5.

State Department Policy Statement on Indochina, September 27, 1948:

> "We have not urged the French to negotiate with Ho Chi Minh, even though he probably is supported by a considerable majority of the Vietnamese people, because of his record as a Communist."

[3] *New York Times*, April 7, 1954.

[4] Geneva Agreements, 1954, paragraph 7.

[5] CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) National Intelligence Estimate, August 3, 1954:

> "If the scheduled national elections are held in July 1956, and if the Viet Minh [sic.] does not prejudice its political prospects, the Viet Minh [sic.] will almost certainly win."

Also, Dwight David Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change* (1963), p. 372:

> "I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of the fighting, possibly 80 percent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh."

[6] Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, *Southeast Asia Treaty Organization*, Department of State Publication 6305 (1956). See especially "Protocol to the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty."

[7] George Kahin and John Lewis (historians), *The United States in Vietnam* (1976), p. 66.

[8] P. J. Honey, "The Problem of Democracy in Vietnam," *The World Today*, Vol. 16, No. 2, February 1960, p. 73. On the basis of talks with former inmates of Diem's prison camps, he stated, "The majority of detainees are neither Communist nor pro-Communist."

Also, William Henderson, "South Viet Nam Finds Itself," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 2, January 1957, pp. 285–88.

> "South Viet Nam is today a quasi-police state characterized by arbitrary arrests and imprisonment."

[9] John D. Montgomery, The *Politics of Foreign Aid* (1962), p. 124:

> "The Vietnamese government, not wishing to disturb the strong landowning classes, resisted the proposed transfers of land [to the peasants] and the sharper rent controls [lower than 25 percent]."

[10] Raphael Littauer and Norman Uphoff, ed. The *Air War in Indochina* (1972), Graph 11, Figure 1-1 "Annual Tonnage of Aerial Munitions, 1965–1971."

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Endnotes for Interpretation A

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[11] United States Senate, *United States Policy with Respect to Mainland China*, 89th Congress, 2nd Session (1966), p. 349. Also Kahin and Lewis, *United States in Vietnam*, p. 239:

"...the ratio of civilian to Vietcong casualties [was] reported as high as 2 to 1...."

[12] *New York Times*, November 10, 1964.

"...a negotiated settlement and neutralization of Vietnam are not to be ruled out."

Also, President Johnson's New Year's message to the government of South Vietnam, *New York Times*, January 1 and 2, 1964:

"Neutralization of South Vietnam would only be another name for a Communist take-over."

[13] *New York Times*, December 27, 1967, and February 13, 1968.

Interpretation B

(1) The Vietnam War was a frustrating conflict for the United States. American soldiers won every battle, yet the Communists won the war. This frustration has led to a number of misinterpretations about this tragic event.

(2) Some historians blame the United States for almost every evil that took place during the war. The United States, they argue, had no legitimate reason for getting involved in the conflict from the beginning. Once we were involved, we incorrectly fought the war militarily and destroyed Vietnamese society with our bombing and other firepower. This viewpoint is wrong on every count.

(3) It is important to recognize that the United States had legitimate national interests in Vietnam. Our enemies were Communists (Ho Chi Minh had been a long-time member of the international Communist movement), and the Korean War showed that Communists were not afraid to try to take over other nations by force. Our aid to the French would help contain Communism.

(4) After the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, they negotiated the Geneva Agreement with the Vietminh Communists. Some historians argue that the Vietminh were cheated out of a legitimate victory by American and South Vietnamese violations of the Geneva Agreement. But the Agreement itself was never signed and not even adopted by a formal vote, so it was not much of an agreement. The nationwide election scheduled for 1956, which Ho Chi Minh would supposedly have won by a landslide, was not taken seriously by any country at the Conference because the agreement was full of contradictions.[1] For example, why would the Agreement allow people to escape from one zone (the North) to the other (the South), when the two zones would be reunified in 700 days? South Vietnam said it would not agree to the elections if the elections jeopardized its independence.[2] Moreover, Communists never hold free elections, so the whole idea was a sham. As John F. Kennedy stated in 1956:

> Neither the United States nor Free Vietnam was a party to that agreement [on elections]—and neither the United States nor Free Vietnam is ever going to be a party to an election obviously stacked and subverted in advance, urged on up by those [the Communists] who have already broken their own pledges under the agreement they now seek to enforce.[3]

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Interpretation B

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(5) So Ngo Dinh Diem, South Vietnam's new leader, was indeed justified in declaring South Vietnam a separate nation and in saying that he would not allow the 1956 election to be held in South Vietnam. The majority of the people in South Vietnam wanted independence from North Vietnam.

(6) When the elections were not held, North Vietnam began to use force to take over South Vietnam. Some people have argued that the war in South Vietnam was fought by the Vietcong (National Liberation Front) which was independent of North Vietnam. In fact, North Vietnam controlled the war in South Vietnam from the start. The North Vietnamese created the NLF as a cover for their role in the war, and to prevent charges that they had invaded South Vietnam. North Vietnamese defectors found it humorous that Americans believed Communist propaganda.[4]

(7) The 1965 introduction of large numbers of American troops turned the tide in favor of the South Vietnamese Government. The effectiveness of American soldiers on the battlefield was undermined, however, by the lack of strategy on the part of American civilian leaders. What several presidents, but especially President Johnson, did was fail to resolve to fight to win the war. War is a serious matter. It requires the undivided attention of the President, the Congress, and the citizenry. The President, in particular, has the duty to define the aims of the war, fix a strategy for success, and clarify to the American people why they and their sons should be willing to sacrifice. President Johnson never confronted the American people with the reality of this choice.[5]

(8) Johnson was concerned about domestic politics, especially his Great Society program. Consequently, he sent in enough troops to avoid losing the war but not enough to win it. The Joint Chiefs of Staff protested, but Johnson was not listening. He had put civilian strategists in charge of the war. Their psychological strategy was to "calibrate" American bombing—increase it a little at a time to get the North Vietnamese to negotiate. The gradual increases in American bombing reduced their effectiveness by allowing the North Vietnamese to adjust gradually.

(9) Despite these limitations on the American military, there were several points at which the United States and South Vietnam were close to winning the war. In 1968 the Vietcong tried an all-out attack in the Tet Offensive. They were thoroughly defeated and effectively eliminated as a fighting force.[6] Without the Vietcong, the guerrilla war withered, and the North Vietnamese Army had to fight large-scale battles against the better-armed Americans and South Vietnamese. The advantage on the battlefield swung clearly to the United States side. Many Americans at home, however, withdrew their support for the war after the Tet Offensive. No one had told them why they were making such sacrifices in Vietnam. With no overall goals or strategy for the war, Americans could not see why we should keep fighting. The American people forced Johnson to start withdrawing troops precisely when our military leaders were saying that more troops and an offensive strategy would bring us victory.

(10) The Communists again made a desperate gamble when they invaded South Vietnam in the 1972 Easter Offensive. They were thrown back by the South Vietnamese Army (most Ameri-

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Interpretation B

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can troops were out of Vietnam by 1972) with losses of over 130,000 men.[7] So the North Vietnamese switched strategy. They decided to win at the negotiating table what they had failed to win on the battlefield. The Nixon Administration could have decided on a tough policy in order to achieve victory. By this time, however, seven years after the introduction of large numbers of American troops, support for the war had vanished. Our leaders had to negotiate. Henry Kissinger won the Nobel Peace Prize for negotiating the 1973 Paris Peace Agreement, but it sold out South Vietnam. The North Vietnamese were allowed to keep their army in South Vietnam while the United States forces were withdrawn. Meanwhile, the Communists agreed to return American prisoners of war (POWs).[8] The Communists used the breather provided by the agreement to build up their army for the final attack in 1975 in which they took over South Vietnam.

(11) It is curious that American reporters criticized the American military for committing atrocities in Vietnam while dismissing the barbarity of the Communists. There should be no mistaking the nature of warfare—it is brutal. American soldiers were heavily armed and made lavish use of their firepower. Some soldiers committed crimes, but they were tried in military courts. American bombing was extremely heavy. Most of the tonnage was dropped in the lightly populated jungle, however, so few civilians were killed.

(12) The Communists, meanwhile, used systematic terror to control the population. From the start, the North Vietnamese Government was as totalitarian and oppressive as any government in the world. North Vietnamese people had almost no rights. People who opposed the Communists or their programs were executed. At least 50,000 (estimates go as high as 500,000) North Vietnamese died in the Communist "land reform" program alone.[9] Over 1 million people escaped from North Vietnam after 1954 to get away from Communist oppression.

(13) The Vietcong used terror and executions (several thousand per year) to intimidate the population of South Vietnam. The American media seemed to pay scant attention to the Vietcong atrocity in Dak San, where the Communists used flamethrowers to burn the residents to death. There was very little in the American press about the mass grave of 5,700 civilians killed at Hue by the Vietcong in the 1968 Tet Offensive. In captured documents, the Vietcong gloated over the executions, lamenting only that they couldn't have killed more people.[10]

(14) Some observers believe that the United States lost the Vietnam War because we fought it militarily, that the real struggle was for the allegiance of the South Vietnamese people. The more people we bombed, they argue, the more enemy guerrillas we created. This argument is refuted by the fact that South Vietnam was defeated by a conventional military invasion, not by a guerrilla takeover. Winning hearts and minds had less to do with victory in Vietnam than tanks and artillery.

(15) In the Vietnam war the United States was trying to protect the independence of a free people from an invasion by a determined and brutal enemy. The American military did its job admirably—winning every battle. What was missing was a decision by our civilian leaders to focus the national will

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Interpretation B

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and determination on the fight. We needed to decide as a nation whether the sacrifice was worth it. Instead, President Johnson tried to fight the war secretly, with no national debate. As time wore on, Americans lost interest in what they saw as a needless meatgrinder chewing up our young men and resources. They had no clear idea of why the country was fighting. In the end, our determined enemy simply outlasted us. The tragedy is not that America fought in Vietnam. The tragedy is that we fought the war without the determination to fight it to victory.

Endnotes for Interpretation B

[1] Guenter Lewy (historian), *America in Vietnam* (1978), p. 8.

[2] Summarized from a statement by the South Vietnamese delegate to the Geneva Conference, *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, Council of Foreign Relations (1955), pp. 315–16.

[3] Speech to Friends of Vietnam, quoted in Hans J. Morgenthau (historian), "The 1954 Geneva Conference: An Assessment," *America's Stake in Vietnam* (1956), p. 13.

[4] Jeffrey Race, *War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province* (1972), pp. 107, 122:

> "They [two Communist defectors whom he interviewed] both commented humorously that the [Communist] Party [of North Vietnam] had apparently been more successful than was expected in concealing its role [in the war in South Vietnam]."
>
> "[Another defector said]...The Central Committee could hardly permit the International Control Commission to say that there was an invasion from the North, so it was necessary to have some name [the NLF]...to clothe these forces with some political organization."

[5] Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk stated in 1976, "We never made any effort to create a war psychology in the United States during the Vietnam affair. We didn't have military parades through cities...."

[6] "Conduct of the War in Vietnam," A report commissioned in 1971 by the United States Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations. (Summary from Reference Document I, not a direct quotation).

"The number of attacks by enemy battalions or larger forces dropped from 16 per month in the first half of 1968 [before the Tet Offensive] to less than 5 per month in the second half of 1968 [after the Tet Offensive]."

See also Sir Robert Thompson, *Peace is Not at Hand* (1974), Chapter 5.

[7] Thompson, *Peace*, Chapter 6.

[8] Douglas Pike, "The Other Side," *The Wilson Quarterly*, Vol VII, No. 3, Summer, 1983, p. 124.

[9] Bernard Fall, *The Two Viet Nams: A Political and Military Analysis* (1967), p. 156.

[10] Robert F. Turner, *Vietnamese Communism: Its Origins and Development* (1975), p. 251.

A captured Vietcong document stated that at Hue the Communists: "...eliminated 1,892 administrative personnel, 38 policemen, 790 tyrants."

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Relevant Information

1. Public statement by Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, February 1, 1950:

   "The recognition by the Kremlin (U.S.S.R.) of Ho Chi Minh's Communist movement in Indochina comes as a surprise. The Soviet acknowledgment of this movement should remove any illusions as to the "nationalist" nature of Ho Chi Minh's aims and reveal Ho in his true colors as the mortal enemy of native independence in Indochina."

2. United States Consul in Saigon, George Abbott, February 12, 1949:

   "One peculiar thing about Vietnam Communism is that there has been very little anti-American propaganda."

3. Public statement by Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense, March 26, 1964:

   "Thus today in Vietnam we are not dealing with factional disputes or the remnants of a colonial struggle against the French but rather with a major test case of Communism's new strategy."

4. Edward Doyle, et al., *Passing the Torch,* Vol. 2 of *The Vietnam Experience* (1981), p. 146:

   "A 1956 presidential ordinance [by Diem] authorizing the arrest and detention in political re-education centers 'of all persons deemed dangerous to the state' inflicted hardship and suffering on tens of thousands of people, Communists and non-Communists alike. It did, however, succeed in decimating the Communist party structure in the South. By the summer of 1956, approximately 90 percent of all [Communist] cells had been smashed in one province; other provinces showed similar results."

5. Roger Hilsman, State Department, Research Memorandum for the Secretary of State, December 3, 1962:

   "The extensive use of artillery and aerial bombardment and other apparently excessive and indiscriminate measures by GVN [Government of South Vietnam] military and security forces in attempting to eliminate the Viet Cong have undoubtedly killed many innocent peasants and made many others more willing than before to cooperate with the Viet Cong."

Worksheet for Lesson 22

Q Interpretation A

1. What is the main point of the argument in Interpretation A?

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2. Identify and evaluate the reasoning used in paragraph 4, when the author talks about Ho Chi Minh and George Washington.

3. Evaluate the evidence in endnote 5.

4. Restate the argument made in paragraphs 4 and 6 in Interpretation A regarding the nationwide 1956 election in "premise, premise, conclusion" form. Remember to state the second premise in general terms: "People who —."

   Premise:

   Premise:

   Conclusion:

5. Evaluate the above argument.

6. Evaluate the cause-and-effect reasoning used in paragraph 8, paragraph 9, and the first sentence of paragraph 12 in Interpretation A.

7. Write down and evaluate one sentence in paragraph 10 which uses generalization reasoning.

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8. What is a possible weakness in paragraph 16?

Interpretation B

9. What is the main point of the argument in Interpretation B?

10. What is the primary type of reasoning used in paragraph 2 of Interpretation B?

11. Evaluate the evidence in paragraph 4 referenced as endnote 1.

12. Evaluate the argument in paragraph 6.

13. What unstated assumption is made in paragraph 8 about civilian leaders in war? Do you agree with it? Why or why not?

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14. **Evaluate the proof-by-evidence reasoning used from the beginning of paragraph 9 to the marker for endnote 6.**

15. Evaluate the evidence in endnote 10.

16. Evaluate the argument in paragraph 14.

Relevant Information

17. Identify one piece of relevant information and explain how it affects one or both of the viewpoints presented.

OPINION SURVEY ON WAR

	STATEMENT	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	REASONS
1	It is wrong for the United States to support corrupt dictatorships in an effort to stop Communism.						
2	Military leaders should be in charge of military strategy in a war.						
3	Bombing of civilians in wartime is always wrong.						
4	It is immoral for a country to enter a war without the intention of making the necessary sacrifices to win that war.						
5	If guerrillas mix with the civilian population, then it is justifiable to kill some of the civilians in trying to kill the guerrillas.						
6	Limited wars with limited objectives are sometimes necessary. For example, a country might fight a war to defend the independence of one country without attacking any other countries.						
7	When a country has no national interest at stake in an area, it should not fight a war in that area.						
8	The United States should not get involved in civil wars.						
9	When a country's freedom is threatened by invasion or subversion, the United States should protect that country.						
10	Since America once fought a revolution for independence, it should not oppose colonial struggles for independence today.						
11	If the majority of people in a country choose Communism, then the United States has no business fighting Communism there.						

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Unit 5

Modern American Society and Politics

LESSON 23 Evaluating Evidence on McCarthyism and the Red Scare

Q Evaluate the following pieces of evidence by explaining their strengths and weaknesses. If you need help, refer to the section on **Evidence** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1).

1. Senator Joseph McCarthy, in a 1950 speech to the Republican Women's Club in Wheeling, West Virginia, claims that there are Communists in government. He states, "I have here in my hand a list of 205—a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist party and who, nevertheless, are still working and shaping policy in the State Department." (Note: Evaluate the evidence by McCarthy, not the list.)

   STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

2. Roy Cohn, an aide to Joseph McCarthy, says in a magazine article that the Senator has been unfairly attacked for his attempts to catch Communists in (United States) government. Actually, the Senator is sincere in his efforts to help our country, Cohn says.

   STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

3. Three friends of Senator McCarthy say they met with him for lunch at the Colonial Restaurant in January 1950, about one month before McCarthy began accusing people of being Communists. At lunch they discussed possible campaign issues to help get McCarthy reelected. The St. Lawrence Seaway, as well as another issue, was rejected before they all agreed that Communism would be an ideal campaign issue.

   STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

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4. In his 1973 book *The Unfinished Century: America Since 1900*, William E. Leuchtenburg says that, as a Senator, Joseph McCarthy was a bully who continually broke Senate rules and made vicious verbal attacks on other people.

   STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

5. Earl Browder, the head of the Communist party of the United States, said that he had never met with or talked to Owen Lattimore in his life, implying that Lattimore had never been a member of the Communist party. Browder was testifying under oath before a Senate Committee investigating Senator McCarthy's charges that Communists, including Lattimore, worked for the government. Lattimore had previously said that he talked with Browder in 1937.

   STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

6. In 1952 government officials searched a suspected Communist's barn and found secret letters and other documents. One letter, from the early 1940s, was written by Owen Lattimore. In it, he told a friend that he worked regularly at a desk at the State Department. (Lattimore told a Senate Committee in 1951 that he had never had a desk and had never worked at the State Department on a regular basis.)

   STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

7. Whittaker Chambers, a former member of the Communist party, told a House Committee that Alger Hiss, a former member of the State Department, had been a member of the Communist party and a spy.

   STRENGTHS: WEAKNESSES:

LESSON 24

Analyzing Cause and Effect on Urban Riots

Q Decide which of the following situations would lead to a riot and which would not. Give reasons for your choices. The situations are real.

Situation	Would lead to a riot	Would not lead to a riot
1. In New York City on July 16, 1964, several young blacks walking to summer school classes became involved in an argument with a white building superintendent. An off-duty police lieutenant got involved.		
Reasons		
2. On August 15, 1964, when a white liquor store owner in the Chicago suburb of Dixmore had a black woman arrested for stealing a bottle of whiskey, he was accused of having manhandled her.		
Reasons		
3. In Philadelphia, during the summer of 1964, a black couple's car stalled at an intersection in an area known as "the Jungle"—an area which, with almost 2000 persons living in each block, has the greatest incidence of crime, disease, unemployment, and poverty in the city. When two police officers, one white and one black, attempted to move the car, the wife became abusive and the officers arrested her.		
Reasons		
4. On August 11, 1965, Los Angeles sweltered in a heat wave. A patrolman halted a young black man for speeding. The young man appeared intoxicated and the patrolman arrested him.		
Reasons		

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Connection between Cause and Effect

In 1965, 1966, and 1967, there were numerous riots by blacks in the slums of major United States cities, including Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York, and Newark. These riots did millions of dollars worth of damage and left hundreds dead and thousands injured. In 1968 a report was issued on the cause of the riots. The following three arguments all say that poverty was the main cause of the riots.

Q Read the arguments, then decide which argument is strongest and explain why you think so. The key question to be answered here is "How well does each historian explain the connection between the cause (poverty) and the effect (riot)?"

Historian A

The urban riots by blacks were mainly caused by poverty in the slums. Blacks were so poor they had no hope. In this hopeless state, blacks attacked department stores, grocery stores, and liquor stores—in fact, almost any type of business. In Watts (a section of Los Angeles), 34 people were killed, hundreds were wounded, and there was $35 million in damage. In Detroit, 43 people were killed, 2000 injured, and more than 4000 fires burned a large part of the city. After flying in a helicopter over the smoking ruins, Michigan Governor George Romney said that Detroit looked like "a city that has been bombed."

Historian B

The 1960's urban riots by blacks were mainly caused by poverty in the slums. Blacks had an unemployment rate three times higher than that of whites, and blacks who did work generally made low wages. Meanwhile, television reminded blacks of all the things they did not own and could not get. With a lot of bored, frustrated people hanging around, the slightest incident, such as an arrest, could create a mob where rioting against "the system," and looting to get the things blacks could never afford to buy, was natural.

Historian C

The 1960's urban riots by blacks were mainly caused by poverty in the slums. Blacks were much worse off than most whites, especially those whites who lived in suburbs. Many blacks rented, rather than owned, their homes. When repairs were needed, black tenants had to wait until the landlord (usually white) decided

[Continued on next page.]

Historian C

[Continued from previous page.]

to fix things. Many of the apartments were overcrowded which led to further decay of the buildings. Roofs and plumbing leaked, plaster broke, and insects wandered about. Given these conditions, frustration was inevitable and this frustration led to the riots.

5. Which of the three arguments is strongest? Why do you think so? (This question is asking which argument makes the strongest connection between the cause and the effect.)

Commission Report

After the 1960's inner city riots began, President Johnson appointed a commission to study the causes of these riots and to recommend actions to correct the situation. On March 1, 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders reported on the riots. What follows is a short section of their report.

> This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal....
>
> Violence and destruction must be ended, in the streets of the ghetto and in the lives of the people. Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans. What white Americans have never fully understood, but what the Negro can never forget, is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it....
>
> White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II....
>
> Frustrated hopes are the residue of the unfulfilled expectations aroused by the great judicial and legislative victories for the civil rights movement and the dramatic struggle for equal rights in the South.
>
> A climate that tends toward approval and encouragement of violence as a form of protest has been created by white terrorism directed against nonviolent protest; by the open defiance of law and federal authority by state and local officials resisting desegregation; and by some protest groups engaging in civil disobedience.
>
> [W]e propose the following objectives for national action:
>
> Opening up opportunities to those who are restricted by racial segregation and discrimination and eliminating all barriers to their choice of jobs, education, and housing....

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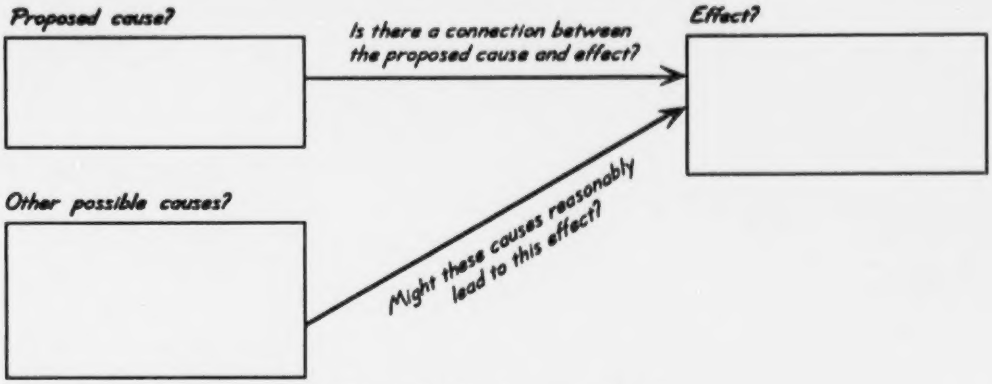
6. Evaluate the Commission's cause-and-effect reasoning.


Proposed cause?
Is there a connection between the proposed cause and effect?
Effect?
Other possible causes?
Might these causes reasonably lead to this effect?

Overall, how strong is the Commission's reasoning?

7. According to the Commission, how can the riots be stopped? What do you think of its recommendations?

LESSON 25 Identifying and Evaluating Types of Reasoning

Q Identify the type of reasoning used in each item below, then evaluate it by asking and answering the appropriate question(s). Each item may contain more than one type of reasoning. Focus your evaluation on the type of reasoning that is most central to the argument. Make diagrams to assist your evaluation when you think they would be helpful. The types of reasoning are listed below. Appropriate questions for evaluating each type of reasoning can be found in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1, pp. 5, 8, 10, 11, 13).

Cause and Effect
Generalization
Comparison
Proof by Eliminating Alternatives
Proof by Evidence

1. In 1987 a school superintendent wrote a letter to the striking teachers in his district. In it he said that if the majority of teachers followed the union leaders in the strike, they were choosing the position of the majority of German citizens in the 1930s and '40s who looked the other way when the Nazis began the genocide of the Jews.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

2. Christine and Leanne are the only ones who could ride such a small bike, but Leanne was gone all day, so Christine must have been the one who borrowed it.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

[Continued on next page.]

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3. President Eisenhower was a conservative (opposed to government measures, such as the New Deal), but he was a practical man. He saw that New Deal programs were still popular in the 1950s, so he supported the programs.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

4. Senator Joseph McCarthy's charges that there were security risks (people of questionable loyalty) in government were correct. Twenty-nine percent of the people he accused were later fired.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

5. According to *Time* magazine, 40% of welfare recipients in 1987 stayed on welfare more than three years, while the average stay on welfare was a little over two years.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

6. Governor Orval Faubus opposed integration in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957 because he needed the white segregationist (people opposed to integration) vote in the upcoming election. He was also encouraged to resist because political leaders in other southern states had signed a document saying they would resist integration.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

[Continued on next page.]

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7. "The stock market crash of October 1987 is even larger than the crash of October 1929, so we should have a depression any time." (Statement made in December 1987)

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

8. "It's a crime for an individual to relieve himself or herself in a river. Amazingly, however, it is not a crime for a corporation to relieve itself in a river. We must stop corporate polluters." (Statement by an environmentalist in the 1970s)

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

9. Richard Nixon won decisively over Hubert Humphrey in the electoral vote in 1968, 301 to 191. But he won by the slightest of margins in the popular vote, 31.8 million to 31.3 million for Humphrey.

   Type of Reasoning:

   Evaluation:

10. "Welfare benefits are unfair. In Alabama a family of three gets $4000 a year in AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) and food stamp benefits. Meanwhile, in Alaska such a family gets about $11,500." (Argument made in 1987)

    Type of Reasoning:

    Evaluation:

LESSON 26 Types of Reasoning about Civil Rights

This lesson contains a number of statements and summaries of statements concerning civil rights. Read the statements and answer the questions which follow them.

Q Read the following summary of reasoning used in the 1954 Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education* and answer the questions.

> The case *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 declared that separate facilities for blacks and whites could be equal. But *Plessy v. Ferguson* dealt with transportation, not education. Testimony in this case shows that separate schools for blacks and whites are not equal. Psychological experts stated that separate schools make blacks feel inferior. Separate schools are inherently unequal and thus violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution.

1. What is the conclusion?

_______2. What are the Justices doing in the second sentence?

A. Attacking the sample in sentence 1.
B. Questioning the evidence in sentence 1.
C. Showing that the comparison in sentence 1 is weak.
D. Substituting cause-and-effect reasoning for the debating reasoning in sentence 1.

_______3. The phrase "Testimony in this case shows..." indicates what type of reasoning?

A. Comparison
B. Proof by Evidence
C. Proof by Authority
D. Sample
E. Cause and Effect

[Continued on next page.]

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______4. The phrase "Psychological experts testified..." indicates what type of reasoning?

A. Comparison
B. Cause and Effect
C. Proof by Authority
D. Debating

______5. The phrase "...separate schools make blacks feel inferior" indicates what type of reasoning?

A. Comparison
B. Cause and Effect
C. Proof by Authority
D. Proof by Evidence

Q In March of 1956, about two years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, nineteen southern Senators and seventy-seven southern Congressmen explained their opposition to the decision in a statement known as "The Southern Manifesto." Read the following summary of "The Southern Manifesto" and answer the questions.

> We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. The Court has wrongfully exercised powers that were reserved to the States in the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution.
>
> The original Constitution does not mention education. Neither does the Fourteenth Amendment, nor any other Amendment. Further, in case after case, the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities, as provided by the States, has been upheld.
>
> The Supreme Court, nevertheless, substituted its own personal political and social beliefs in place of the established legal principle of control of education by the States. This is an unwarranted exercise of power by the Court and is creating chaos and confusion in the States principally affected.
>
> We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution.

______6. The sentence "The original Constitution does not mention education" indicates what type of reasoning?

A. Comparison
B. Cause and Effect
C. Generalization
D. Proof by Evidence

______7. The argument that the principle of "separate but equal" had been upheld in "case after case" (and is therefore a good principle) is primarily what type of reasoning?

A. Comparison
B. Cause and Effect
C. Generalization
D. Proof by Eliminating Alternatives

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______8. The argument that the Supreme Court decision is "creating chaos and confusion in the States" is primarily what type of reasoning?

A. Comparison	C. Generalization
B. Cause and Effect	D. Proof by Eliminating Alternatives

9. What effects do you think this Manifesto, and especially the last paragraph, had on the situation in the Southern states regarding Civil Rights? Why do you think so?

Q After Rosa Parks was arrested in December 1955, blacks in Montgomery, Alabama, organized a 381-day bus boycott. The boycott was very effective; buses rolled through Montgomery nearly empty. The bus company almost went bankrupt.

_____10. This argument implies that very few blacks rode the buses during the boycott. What type of reasoning is this?

A. Comparison	C. Generalization
B. Cause and Effect	D. Proof by Authority

_____11. Primarily what type of reasoning is used in the argument that the bus company almost went bankrupt due to the bus boycott?

A. Comparison	C. Generalization
B. Cause and Effect	D. Proof by Authority

12. Evaluate the argument given in question 11 that the bus company almost went bankrupt due to the bus boycott.

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Q Martin Luther King was the Gandhi of the Civil Rights Movement. Like Gandhi, King used nonviolent resistance to win his opponents over through love.

_____13. What type of reasoning does this argument primarily use?

A. Comparison
B. Cause and Effect
C. Generalization
D. Proof by Eliminating Alternatives

14. Evaluate the argument.

Q Professor Clemens, who says that racism by whites is not the main reason for high unemployment among blacks, is helping America's racists. He is helping the people who are taking food out of the mouths of black children.

_____15. Which of the following is a possible fallacy in this argument?

A. Stereotyping (p. 10)

B. Hasty Generalization (p. 10)

C. Numbers (p. 12)

D. False Scenario (p. 6)

E. Irrelevant Proof (p. 12)

LESSON 27

Why Did Blacks Have Less Upward Mobility Than Immigrants in Boston from 1880 to 1970?

From 1880 to 1970, blacks in Boston had significantly less upward mobility than immigrants. That is, given a certain time period after moving to Boston, say forty years, blacks did not move up in class (especially in job levels) as much as immigrants did.

Below are several explanations by historians of why blacks did not do as well in improving their job categories as immigrants did after they migrated to Boston. Following these explanations is some information, mostly in the form of tables, which may be relevant to the question. Use this information to decide which of the historians' views is the best and explain why.

Examples of Job Categories in 1970

From: Stephen Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970.*

White collar jobs tend to be associated with higher income (middle and upper class) people, while unskilled laborers would be associated with lower income (lower class) people.

High White Collar	Architect, Engineer, Lawyer, Physician, Teacher, Scientist, Banker, Broker
Low White Collar	Clerk, Sales, Accountant, Bank teller, Bookkeeper, Cashier, Insurance sales, Mail carrier
Skilled Blue Collar	Baker, Carpenter, Firefighter, Jeweler, Plumber, Machinist
Semi-skilled and Service (Blue Collar)	Barber, Bartender, Cook, Janitor, Servant, Gas station attendant, Waitperson, Delivery person
Unskilled and Menial Service (Blue Collar)	Gardener, Laborer, Lumberjack, Porter, Housekeeper

Theory A

Blacks did poorly when they migrated to Boston mainly because they came from the rural South. They were unprepared for urban life, so they could not take advantage of those opportunities to move up which were available. The city life of Boston was simply too complex and too different from life in the rural South, especially because the early black migrants came from families that had lived under slavery.

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Theory B

The main reason for the poor performance of blacks in terms of mobility is due to the prejudice of whites in Boston. Whites in Boston had more prejudice against blacks than they had against any immigrant group.

Theory C

Blacks did worse than immigrants in moving up on the job scale mainly because they were less interested in education. Black children did not go to school as long as whites, so how could they expect to better themselves in the job market?

Theory D

Blacks did poorly in the job market mainly because they were concentrated, isolating themselves in ghettoes. Thus, they had less contact with others in the city. When opportunities for better jobs opened up, the employers did not know any blacks to hire, and the blacks had no way to find out about the jobs.

Theory E

Larger families account for why blacks did not do as well as immigrants in improving themselves in the job market. With larger families, blacks could provide neither the same education nor the same financial help as they could have for fewer children. With this handicapped start, black children could not improve themselves as much as white children could.

Theory F

The black family in Boston, as elsewhere, was disorganized and unstable. Just look at the statistics. In 1970 barely half (50.3 percent) of the black children in Boston were living with both of their parents. It has been established that a "background of living in a broken family hurts educational achievement." With less education, it is to be expected that blacks will do worse in occupational achievement.

Theory G

Black culture is the main reason for the poor record of gains for blacks in Boston. This culture made blacks less qualified for better jobs than whites, and prevented blacks from seeing and taking advantage of job opportunities that were available to them.

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Relevant Information

Table 1 Relative segregation in housing of blacks and first-generation immigrants, 1880–1950.

Group	1880	1910	1930	1940
Black	51	64	78	80
English	13	11	15	19
German	31	31	35	31
Irish	15	19	26	24
Italian	74	66	54	48
Swedish	27	23	32	31
Russian (mostly Jewish)	55	48	65	65

Note: **In Table 1, higher numbers mean greater segregation; 100 would mean all the people of that group live in areas that do not have any other ethnic groups living there, 0 means the people of that group are spread equally throughout the city's neighborhoods.**

Table 2 Educational attainments of blacks and other groups, 1900–1970.

I Percent attending school, 1900

Age	Immigrant	Second-generation Immigrant	Native White	Black
10–14	80%	92%	94%	89%
15–20	7	23	39	20

II School years completed (percent), 1950

School Years	Immigrant	Native White	Black
6 or less	41%	6%	26%
7–8	36	31	39
9–11	9	21	15
12 or more	13	42	20
Median Years	7.5 years	10.8 years	8.5 years

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III School years completed and occupational level (percent), 1950

	Irish	Italian	French-Canadian	Black
Median School Years	8.4 years	6.1 years	8.5 years	9.5 years
Occupational Level				
White-collar	19%	19%	20%	15%
Skilled	21	25	39	13
Low Manual	60	56	41	72

IV Median school years of blacks relative to total population, 1940–1970

Year	Median School Years		Black Median as percent of City Median
	Total Population	Blacks	
1940	8.9 years	8.3 years	93%
1950	11.8	9.5	81%
1960	12.1	10.5	87%
1970	12.4	11.6	94%

Note: The median shows that half of the group went more and half went less than this number of years.

Table 3 Percent of families of blacks throughout Boston and various groups in specific areas of Boston with females as head of household, 1880.

Families	% with Female Head of Household
Blacks (all of Boston)	16%
South Boston (largely Irish)	18
Back Bay (mixed area—many wealthy residents)	22
Dorchester (mixed immigrants)	19
South End (largely Irish)	27

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Table 4 Occupational distribution (percent) of black males, 1880–1900.

Year	Place of Birth	Occupational Level		
		White Collar	Skilled	Low Manual
1880	North	9%	19%	73%
	South	7	9	84
	Foreign	7	12	81
1900	Massachusetts	12%	14%	74%
	Other North	6	11	83
	South	8	12	80
	Foreign	6	16	78

Table 5 Occupational distribution (percent) of first-generation immigrant males over the age of 45, by nationality, 1950.

Occupation	New England Native	Nationality of First-Generation Male Immigrants					
		English	Irish	Swedish	German	Russian (mostly Jewish)	Italian
White-collar	48%	52%	18%	16%	40%	53%	18%
Blue-collar	52	48	82	84	60	46	82

Table 6 Occupational distribution (percent) of Irish and black males by generation, 1880.

Ethnicity	White-collar	Skilled	Low manual
First generation *			
Irish	12%	21%	67%
Black	7	9	84
Second generation **			
Irish	24	24	52
Black	9	19	73

* First generation—born elsewhere (for Blacks, born in the South), moved to Boston
** Second generation—born in Boston

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Table 7 Percent of black and white children living with both parents

Year	Blacks	Whites
1970	50.3%	87.9%

Table 8 Occupational distribution (percent) of blacks and immigrants, 1890, 1910, 1930

Year	Ethnicity	Occupational Level		
		White Collar	Skilled	Low Manual
1890	First-generation immigrant	18%	37%	45%
	Second-generation immigrant	32	34	34
	Black	8	11	81
1910	First-generation immigrant	24%	33%	43%
	Second-generation immigrant	45	21	34
	Black	10	8	82
1930	First-generation immigrant	24%	30%	46%
	Second-generation immigrant*	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Blacks	11	12	77

* No information on occupations of second-generation immigrants was given for 1930.

Table 9 Fertility (number of children ever born) of women in Boston, aged 35–44.

Year	Black Women	All Women
1960	2.35	2.58
1970	3.41	3.16

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Table 10 Index of relative occupational concentration of blacks, 1900, 1940, 1950.

Occupation	1900	1940	1950
Unskilled and menial service	347	365	366
Semiskilled operative	24	63	117

Note: The index is compared to the population as a whole—100 means there was the same percentage of blacks in an occupation as for the population as a whole, higher than 100 means a higher concentration, and lower than 100 means a lower concentration.

Table 11 Infant mortality (percent of children who died before reaching age 1).

Year	Blacks	Whites
1900	32%	19%

12. Unskilled and menial service jobs are traditionally "Negro" jobs. Semiskilled operative jobs demanded no more skills than the "Negro" jobs. In 1940 there was a sudden demand for semiskilled jobs because of World War II.

13. Whites in the same income levels as blacks in 1960 had significantly higher job levels (more white collar jobs, etc.).

14. Blacks had about the same percentage of broken families as whites with the same income level in 1960.

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Q Evaluate the viewpoints of the historians.

Historian	Relevant information which affects this interpretation	Overall judgment of the viewpoint
A (p. 144)		
B (p. 145)		
C (p. 145)		
D (p. 145)		
E (p. 145)		
F (p. 145)		
G (p. 145)		

Which is the strongest viewpoint? Why do you think so?

LESSON 28

What Are the Causes and Effects of More Women Working Outside the Home?

Part I

A higher percentage of women are working outside the home today in the United States than ever before. List below all the causes you can think of for this change.

Now list all the effects of more women working outside the home.

Part II

Read each of the arguments below, then answer the questions. The tables referred to in the questions begin on page 155.

Historian A

Today (1979) more women are working outside the home than ever before, and the divorce rate has never been higher. Obviously, women going off to work is a big factor in the breakup of marriages.

1. Which table shows that more women were working in 1979 than ever before?

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2. Which table shows that the divorce rate was higher in 1979 than ever before?

3. Identify the primary type of reasoning used in this argument (cause-and-effect, comparison, generalization, proof-by-authority, etc.).

4. What fallacy does this argument commit? (See pp. 6–14 in the "Guide to Critical Thinking," Unit 1.)

5. What is needed to make this argument stronger?

Historian B

As women have had fewer children, more women have joined the labor force. Thus, smaller families have allowed women to work more.

6. Which table shows that women have had fewer children?

7. What is the primary type of reasoning used in this argument?

8. Evaluate this argument.

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Historian C

Though more women are involved in the labor force, they still have not achieved equality with men in the workplace.

9. Which table is related to this argument?

10. Does this related table support or weaken the argument? Why do you think so?

Historian D

The biggest factor contributing to the significantly lower earnings of women, compared to those of men, is discrimination. Women are simply not allowed into the top executive and professional positions in the same numbers as men.

11. Does Table 4 support or weaken this argument?

12. If women live longer than men, why do they work only about half the years men work? Write as many reasons as you can think of.

13. Why, according to Table 4, might women get lower pay?

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Table I The Female Labor Force

Year	Female Labor Force as Percentage of Total Labor Force	Female Labor Force as Percentage of Female Population	
		Total	Married
1890	16	18	5
1900	18	20	6
1910	21	24	11
1920	20	23	9
1930	22	24	12
1940	25	27	17
1950	29	31	25
1960	33	35	32
1970	38	43	41
1974	39	45	44

Source: *1975 Handbook of Women Working*, pp. 9–18.

Table 2 Women's Earnings as a Percentage of Men's Earnings

Year	Women's Earnings
1955	64
1960	61
1965	60
1970	59
1975	59
1977	59
1978	59

Source: *Perspectives*, p. 52.

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Table 3 Birth, Marriage, and Divorce Rates per 1000 Population

Year	Births	Marriages	Divorces
1910	30.1	10.3	0.9
1920	27.7	12.0	1.6
1930	21.3	9.2	1.6
1940	19.4	12.1	2.0
1950	24.1	11.1	2.6
1960	23.7	8.5	2.2
1970	18.4	10.6	3.5
1978	15.3	10.3	5.1

Source: *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*, 1979, p. 60.

Table 4 Life Expectancy[1] and Work-life Expectancy[2] by Date and Sex

Year	Life		Work-life	
	F	M	F	M
1900	50.7	48.2	6.3	32.1
1940	65.9	61.2	12.1	38.2
1950	71.0	65.5	15.2	41.9
1960	73.1	66.6	20.1	41.4
1970	74.6	67.1	22.9	41.4
1980	77.6	70.0	29.4	38.8

[1] Average number of years expected to live.

[2] Average number of years expected to work.

Source: Anne Chapman, ed., *Approaches to Women's History* (1979), p. 106; also *Monthly Labor Review, August 1985.*

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Q Part III New Information

So far you have made some hypotheses about why women work, what the effects of them working are, and why women receive lower pay than men. Now, suppose you found the information in the tables and graphs below. Study this information, then write new explanations for why more women are working, what the effects are, and why they receive lower pay. Information in the tables was published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

A. Why did more women work in 1979 than ever before? Cite particular tables or graphs to support your hypothesis.

B. What are the effects of the increase in the number of working women?

C. Why do women receive lower pay than men?

Table 5 Population per Household

Year	Average Household
1900	4.76
1910	4.54
1920	4.34
1930	4.11
1940	3.67
1950	3.37
1960	3.33
1970	3.14
1978	2.81

Source: *Household and Family Characteristics*, 1979, p. 2.

[Continued on next page.]

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Table 6 Occupation of the Experienced Civilian Labor Force

No. of workers (in 1000s)	1900	1919	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Professional & Technical								
Total (both sexes)	1234	1758	2283	3311	3879	5081	7335	11018
Women	434	726	1008	1482	1608	2007	2793	4398
Managers								
Total (both sexes)	1697	2462	2803	3614	3770	5155	5489	6224
Women	74	150	191	292	414	700	794	1034
Clerical								
Total (both sexes)	877	1987	3385	4336	4982	7232	9617	13457
Women	212	688	1614	2246	2700	4502	6497	9910
Sales								
Total (both sexes)	1307	1755	2058	3059	3450	4133	4801	5433
Women	228	379	541	736	925	1418	1746	2097
Manual								
Total (both sexes)	10401	14234	16974	19272	20597	24266	25617	27358
Women	1477	1914	2052	2134	2720	3685	4006	5041
Service								
Total (both sexes)	2626	3562	3313	4772	6069	6180	7590	9195
Women	1886	2413	2063	2954	3699	3532	4780	5752
Farm								
Total (both sexes)	10888	11533	11390	10321	8995	6953	4085	2345
Women	1008	1175	1169	908	508	601	390	222

Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (1976), pp. 139–40.

Table 7 Percent of Wives in the Labor Force with Children under 18

Year	%
1950	18.4%
1955	24.0
1960	27.6
1965	32.2
1970	39.7
1975	44.9
1979	51.9

Source: *Perspectives on Working Women* (1980), p. 27.

[Continued on next page.]

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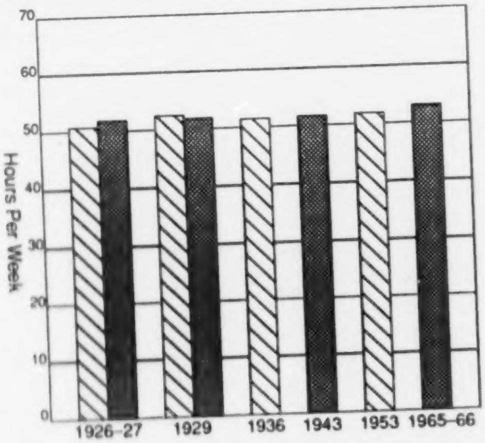
Table 8 Marital Status of Women in the Civilian Labor Force: 1960–1980

Year	Percent Distribution, Female Labor Force			Female Labor Force as Percent of Female Population				
	Single	Married	Widowed or Divorced	Total	Single	Married		Widowed or Divorced
						Total	Husband Present	
1960	24.0%	59.9%	16.1%	34.8%	44.1%	31.7%	30.5%	37.1%
1965	22.8	62.2	15.0	36.7	40.5	35.7	34.7	35.7
1970	22.3	63.4	14.3	42.6	53.0	41.4	40.8	36.2
1971	22.7	63.0	14.2	42.5	52.8	41.4	40.8	35.7
1972	22.8	62.9	14.3	43.7	55.0	42.2	41.5	37.2
1973	22.9	62.8	14.2	44.2	55.9	42.8	42.2	36.7
1974	23.4	62.2	14.4	45.3	57.4	43.8	43.1	37.8
1975	23.2	62.3	14.5	46.0	57.0	45.1	44.4	37.7
1976	24.2	61.6	14.3	46.8	59.2	45.8	45.1	37.3
1977	24.2	61.0	14.8	48.0	59.2	47.2	46.6	39.0
1978	25.1	59.8	15.1	49.2	60.7	48.1	47.5	39.9
1979	25.8	59.5	14.8	50.8	62.9	49.9	49.3	40.0
1980	25.0	59.7	15.3	51.1	61.5	50.7	50.1	41.0

Source: Bulletin 2307

Graph 9 Hours Per Week Devoted to Household Work



Note: Slanted column is hours for rural women, solid column is hours for urban women. Chart on the basis of surveys made in the years cited for women with no outside employment. Technological changes have increased women's productivity and shortened the hours necessary to do certain tasks (i.e., laundry), but the addition of new tasks and the creation of higher standards of cleanliness has meant that the hours necessary for housework have not noticeably changed.

Joann Vanek, "Time Spent in Housework," *Scientific American*, November 1974, p. 118.

[Continued on next page.]

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Table 10 The Leading 10 Occupations of Women Workers 1870-1970

In order of size, and as reported in each census regardless of changes in definition.

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
1	Domestic Servants	Domestic Servants	Servants	Servants	Other Servants	Other Servants	Other Servants, Other Domestic and Personal Service	Servants (private family)	Stenographers, Typists and Secretaries	Stenographers, Typists and Secretaries	Secretaries
2	Agricultural Laborers	Agricultural Laborers	Agricultural Laborers	Farm Laborers (members of family)	Farm Laborers (home farm)	Teachers (school)	Teachers (school)	Stenographers, Typists and Secretaries	Other Clerical Workers	Other Clerical Workers	Sales Clerks (retail trade)
3	Tailoresses and Seamstresses	Milliners, Dressmakers and Seamstresses	Dressmakers	Dressmakers	Laundresses (not in Laundry)	Farm Laborers (home farm)	Stenographers and Typists	Teachers (not elsewhere classified)	Saleswomen	Private Household Workers	Bookkeepers
4	Milliners, Dress and Mantua Makers	Teachers and Scientific Persons	Teachers	Teachers	Teachers (school)	Stenographers and Typists	Other Clerks (except clerks in stores)	Clerical and Kindred Workers (not elsewhere classified)	Private Household Workers	Saleswoman	Teachers (elementary school)
5	Teachers (not specified)	Laundresses	Farmers, Planters and Overseers	Laundry Work (hand)	Dressmakers and Seamstresses (not in factory)	Other Clerks (except clerks in stores)	Saleswoman	Saleswoman (not elsewhere classified)	Teachers (elementary school)	Teachers (elementary school)	Typists
6	Cotton-mill Operatives	Cotton-mill Operatives	Laundresses	Farmers and Planters	Farm Laborers (working out)	Laundresses (not in laundry)	Farm Laborers (unpaid family workers)	Operatives and Kindred Workers, Apparel and Accessories	Waitresses	Bookkeepers	Waitresses
7	Laundresses	Farmers and Planters	Seamstresses	Farm and Plantation Laborers	Cooks	Saleswomen (stores)	Bookkeepers and Cashiers	Bookkeepers, Accountants and Cashiers	Bookkeepers	Waitresses	Sewers and Stitchers
8	Woolen-mill Operatives	Tailoresses	Cotton-mill Operatives	Saleswomen	Stenographers and Typewriters	Bookkeepers and Cashiers	Laundresses (not in laundry)	Waitresses (except private family)	Sewers and Stitchers, Manufacturing	Miscellaneous and Not Specified Operatives	Nurses, Registered
9	Farmers and Planters	Woolen-mill Operatives	Housekeepers and Stewards	Housekeepers and Stewards	Farmers	Cooks	Trained Nurses	Housekeepers (private family)	Nurses, Registered	Nurses, Registered	Cashiers
10	Nurses	Employees of Hotels and Restaurants (not clerks)	Clerks and Copyists	Seamstresses	Saleswomen (stores)	Farmers (general farms)	Other Cooks	Trained Nurses and Student Nurses	Telephone Operators	Other Service Workers (except private household)	Private Household Cleaners and Servants

Sources: Decennial Census, 1870-1940;Janet M. Hooks, Women's Occupations Through Seven Decades (Women's Bureau Bulletin #218, U.S. Department of Labor); U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Census of Population, 1960, Detailed Characteristics, U.S. Summary, Table 202; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Census of Population, 1970, Detailed Characteristics, U.S. Summary, PC (1)D1; U.S. Women's Bureau, "Occupations of Women, 1950, 1960 and 1970, Tables Reprinted from the Economic Report of the President 1973," 1973.

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LESSON 29 Was the Kennedy Assassination a Conspiracy?

Background Information

On November 22, 1963, the American public was shocked by the assassination of one of its most beloved presidents, John F. Kennedy. Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested for the assassination. But two days later, as he was being taken from the Dallas Police Station, Oswald was, in turn, murdered by Jack Ruby, leaving many unanswered questions.

The Warren Commission studied the assassination and concluded in 1964 that Oswald acted alone. Nevertheless, some historians argue that the assassination was a conspiracy (carried out by more than one gunman). This lesson presents two viewpoints on this controversy.

Before the viewpoints is a diagram showing Dealey Plaza in Dallas, where the assassination took place. Included in the diagram are the location of the book depository, where Oswald allegedly fired at the President; the grassy knoll, where some writers believe there was a second assassin; the location of Abraham Zapruder, who was recording the presidential motorcade with his own movie camera for his employees; and locations of several other eyewitnesses.

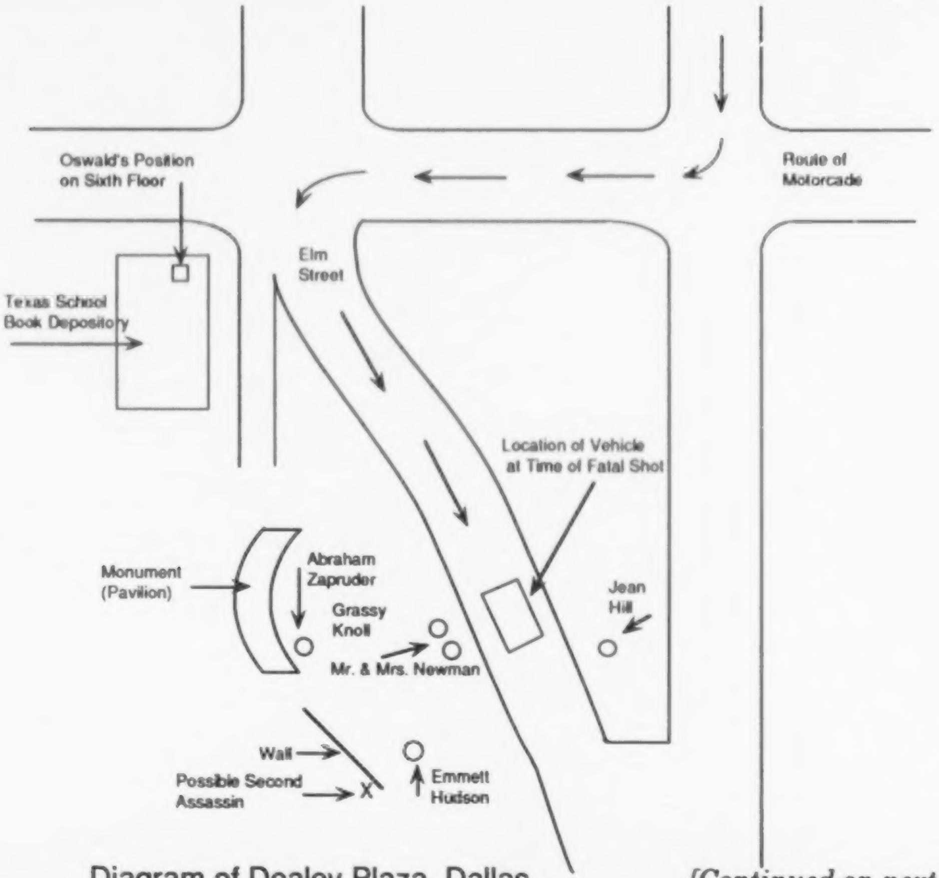
Oswald's Position on Sixth Floor
Route of Motorcade
Elm Street
Texas School Book Depository
Location of Vehicle at Time of Fatal Shot
Monument (Pavilion)
Abraham Zapruder
Grassy Knoll
Mr. & Mrs. Newman
Jean Hill
Wall
Possible Second Assassin
X
Emmett Hudson

Diagram of Dealey Plaza, Dallas

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Interpretation A

(1) The assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, was one of the great tragedies in American history. The country lost one of its best presidents on that day in Dallas. As the country mourned, the question of a conspiracy emerged. The Warren Commission tried to settle the question by concluding that Lee Harvey Oswald had acted alone. But questions remain, and as the evidence has piled up, it has become more certain that Oswald did not act alone. The assassination was carried out by at least two gunmen who were part of a conspiracy to kill the President.

(2) Two groups had a motive for killing Kennedy. The Cuban government under the Communist Fidel Castro may have wanted revenge on the President for the attempt to overthrow Castro in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, and also for a plot to assassinate the Communist leader, which had been approved by Robert Kennedy, the president's brother. Castro said that if an agent was hired to kill him, then he could hire someone to kill the President.[1]

(3) The Mafia was very upset with the Kennedys for their blacklist consisting of the most wanted mobsters.[2] The anticrime actions of the Kennedys had made things difficult for the Mafia. Labor leader Jimmy Hoffa, who had connections to organized crime, was at the top of the blacklist. He expressed violent hatred for the Kennedy family and wanted all of them dead.[3] It is interesting that Jack Ruby, who was known to have ties to the Mafia,[4] killed Oswald only two days after the assassination, making a conspiracy much more difficult to discover.

(4) Other evidence supports the claim that one of these two groups may have been involved in the assassination. Sylvia Odio was visited at her home in Dallas in September 1963 by two Cubans and an American. One of the Cubans said the American was so crazy, "He might even shoot the President...."[5] She later identified the American as Lee Harvey Oswald. Why was Oswald with Cubans? On November 20, 1963, Jack Ruby's waitress, Rose Sharime, overheard Jack Ruby and Lee Harvey Oswald talking about assassinating President Kennedy. Sharime was later thrown from a car and hospitalized.[6]

(5) The physical evidence and eyewitness accounts of the assassination make it clear that Oswald could not have acted alone. The eyewitnesses say they heard three shots, two of which were less than a second apart.[7] It would have taken Oswald about 3 to 4 seconds between shots, so he could not have fired all the shots people heard. The film taken by Abraham Zapruder also supports this conclusion. In the film, one can note the moments when Kennedy and Governor Connolly were shot. They are only two frames apart and each frame is 1/18th of a second.[8] So Kennedy and Connolly were shot less than a quarter of a second apart, much too fast for one gunman to fire two shots.

(6) The Zapruder film also showed that Oswald could not have fired three shots in the time between his first clear view of the car and when the last shot was fired. The Warren Commission tried to get around this timing problem by saying that the first shot, fired before Oswald had a clear view, missed everything. The second bullet hit Kennedy in the throat and then hit Connolly. The third one hit Kennedy in the head.

[Continued on next page.]

Interpretation A

[Continued from previous page.]

(7) The second "magic" bullet appeared mysteriously on the stretcher when Connolly was being transferred. The doctor involved feels it may have been "planted" (put there to mislead people) on the stretcher. This bullet was supposed to have gone through Kennedy's throat, entering Connolly's back and shattering one of his ribs, continuing through his arm striking the radial bone, and ending with a fragment entering his right thigh. All this and the bullet was basically undamaged! Later tests, shooting the same type of bullet through goat ribs and a radial bone, show that the bullet would have been much more flattened and have had substantial damage.[9] Moreover, Kennedy and Connolly were not in a straight line, so the bullet would have had to change directions. This evidence shows that more than one bullet hit Kennedy and Connolly, which means more than one assassin.

(8) A great deal of evidence indicates that the second assassin fired from the grassy knoll in front and to the right of the President (see the diagram on p. 161). First, the Zapruder film shows the President's head snapping backwards when the fatal shot hit.[10] If he had been hit by Oswald's shot from directly behind him, his head would have gone forward. This is confirmed by a test of shooting a human skull from behind with a high powered rifle—the skull was projected forward.[11]

(9) Second, most of the eyewitnesses said they heard the shots from the direction of the grassy knoll and saw a puff of smoke on the knoll.[12] Jean Hill not only saw a gunman in the bushes on the grassy knoll, she chased him. The Warren Commission said he never existed. Hill was threatened by Warren Commission officials, the FBI, and the secret service when she tried to tell her story.[13] Phil Willis took photographs of the motorcade and, in one picture, there is the shape of a man at the end of the wall on the grassy knoll.[14] When authorities checked the area of the grassy knoll where the gunman was suspected to be, they found fresh footprints and smoking cigarette butts.[15]

(10) When doctors first examined the body at Dallas Hospital, one doctor concluded that the wound on Kennedy's head was an entrance wound, showing the shot had come from the grassy knoll. When the body arrived at Bethesda Hospital, a new bullet wound appeared, apparently an entrance wound from the rear, pointing to Oswald as the lone killer. The plane arrived a half hour late. The new wound could have been made by surgery.

(11) It is clear that Lee Harvey Oswald did not act alone in assassinating President Kennedy. The evidence points to a second assassin on the grassy knoll. Right after the assassination, evidence was planted and altered to cover up the conspiracy, and then Oswald himself was silenced. But the evidence can be pieced together to reconstruct what really happened.

Endnotes for Interpretation A

[1] Reg Gadney, "Kennedy," NBC, November 19, 1988.

[2] Jack Anderson, "American Expose: Who Murdered JFK?" CBS, November 8, 1988.

[3] Ibid.

[Continued on next page.]

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Endnotes for Interpretation A

[Continued from previous page.]

[4] David W. Berlin, *November 22, 1963: You Are the Jury.* (New York: New York Times Book Co.), p. 92.

[5] Michael Kurtz, *Crime of the Century: Assassination from a Historian's Perspective.* (Nashville, TN: University of Tennessee Press), p. 219. This statement was made by the Cuban named Leopoldo.

[6] Anderson.

[7] Mark Lane, *Rush to Judgment.* (New York; Fawcett World Library, 1966) p. 143.

[8] Robert Richter, "Who Shot President Kennedy?" ABC, November 15, 1988.

[9] Ibid. The results of the test were stated by the congressional committee studying the assassination.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid. A pathologist explained these results.

[12] Lane, pp. 140, 261; David Lifton, *Best Evidence.* (New York: Macmillan, 1980) p. 16. Jean Hill said she thought the shots came from across the street "from the knoll" (see the diagram). Mr. & Mrs. Newman (diagram) said the shots came from directly behind them. Emmett Hudson (diagram) said the shots came from directly over his head. Sam Holland said he saw a puff of smoke come from behind the arcade and through the trees. Johnson testified that white smoke was observed near the pavilion. And there were numerous others with similar testimony.

[13] "Story of a Second Gunman Was Never Explored, Says Witness." *Boston Herald*, November 20, 1988, p. 7.

[14] Lifton, photographs after p. 44; NOVA, "Who Shot President Kennedy," narrated by Walter Cronkite, WGBH, November 15, 1988.

[15] NOVA.

[16] Lifton, p. 87.

Interpretation B

(1) The assassination of President John F. Kennedy brought great sorrow to our nation. The leader who had inspired such great hopes was suddenly gone. The loss was intense. The public was bewildered. Out of our agony a new question emerged. Had Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone or was the assassination a conspiracy? Despite the Warren Commission's conclusions that Oswald was the lone assassin, conspiracy theories continue to emerge, born of fertile imaginations rather than adherence to the evidence.

(2) The Mafia and the Cubans supposedly had motives to kill President Kennedy. A lot of people had a motive to kill him, so that doesn't mean much. There are coincidences of meetings and snippets of conversations that sound odd, but no hard evidence of conspiracy. The theory that Jack Ruby killed Oswald for the Mafia, to cover up the conspiracy is, in fact, disproved by the evidence. Oswald was scheduled to leave the Dallas Police Department at 10:00 A.M. Ruby was making a financial transaction at a nearby bank after 11:00 A.M. Unknown to him, Oswald was delayed. Ruby shot Oswald at 11:21 A.M. in what surely was a coincidence, with Ruby walking in at the right time, not planning a "hit" as a Mafia hitman would have.[1]

(3) The physical evidence is overwhelming that Oswald, and he alone, killed the President. Two large bullet fragments found in the limousine, along with the nearly whole bullet found on the stretcher, were analyzed against the three cartridge cases found in the Texas Book Depository by four experts in firearms identification. They determined that Oswald's rifle, to the exclusion of other weapons, fired the bullets that struck President Kennedy and Governor Connolly.[2]

[Continued on next page.]

Interpretation B

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(4) The so-called "magic" bullet has caused a great deal of controversy. Physical evidence shows it did come out of Governor Connolly's leg—it was not placed on the stretcher as part of a conspiracy. Testing on the magic bullet, and bullet fragments found in the Governor's leg, show they are chemically identical.[3]

(5) Critics have charged, based on the Zapruder film, that the President and the Governor were not lined up so that a bullet (the second bullet) fired from the sixth floor of the Depository could have caused the President's neck wounds and the Governor's chest, wrist and thigh wounds. But the FBI restaged the assassination according to the Zapruder film and concluded the single bullet could, in fact, have inflicted all the wounds if the President was leaning slightly forward and downward, and if Connolly was leaning slightly backward and to the left.[4] These conditions fit perfectly with the position of the two men in the film at the time the Warren Commission claims the second bullet struck.[5] Experts have also done tests shooting bullets through gelatin (which is similar to human flesh) and the bullets tend to change direction, making possible a slight discrepancy in the positioning of President Kennedy and Governor Connolly in the limousine.

(6) As for the pristine (relatively undamaged) state of the magic bullet, ballistics evidence shows that a bullet which is slowed down, such as this bullet was after entering Kennedy's body, is less likely to be damaged.[6]

(7) Some writers argue that the two wounds on the front of Kennedy's head and neck were entrance wounds, showing that the President was shot from the grassy knoll. They base this claim on the autopsy report from Parkland Hospital in Dallas, in which two wounds were noted. They claim the body was altered on the flight to Bethesda Memorial Hospital where the autopsy noted four wounds, two entrance wounds in the rear of the body. The discrepancy is easily explained. The whole time the body was at Parkland it was on its back,[7] so the doctors did not see the other two wounds.

(8) FBI experts who examined the holes in the President's clothing concluded, by the size of the holes and the direction that the fibers had been pushed, that the bullet entered through his back and exited through his neck.[8] Pathologists also testified that the small hole in the back of the President's head was the entrance wound and the large crater was the exit.[9]

(9) Four of the doctors who originally examined the President's body at Bethesda recently independently examined the X-rays, never having seen them before. All four concluded that, based on their observations at Bethesda, there were no changes to the wounds from when the photographs and X-rays were taken at Parkland Hospital in Dallas.[10]

(10) Another controversial point is that the Zapruder film shows the President's head snap backward at the time of the fatal shot, indicating impact from the front rather than the rear. Experts conducted a test in which they fired a shot into a skull filled with fake brain matter that was set on top of a ladder. They used a rifle similar to Oswald's rifle and the same angle and distance as in the assassination. Despite the rear entrance, the skull was blown back-

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Interpretation B

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wards, just as Kennedy's head had been.[11]

(11) Supporters of the conspiracy theory believe that the second assassin was on the grassy knoll. They make a great deal out of the footprints and cigarette butts in the area. This just means someone was watching the motorcade, not that a murderer was there. The photographs of the grassy knoll containing shapes, possibly of a man or men, are also not conclusive. Experts who examined the photographs and electronically enhanced them said that some of the shapes could be human, but it takes a lot of imagination to conclude that they are human.[12]

(12) All of the evidence compiled by the Warren Commission was hard evidence and its conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, assassinated President Kennedy is still the soundest conclusion yet reached. The mystique of conspiracy arose amid the confusion and bewilderment of the witnesses in the hours and days after the dreadful events of November 22, 1963. An eternal flame burns over Kennedy's grave in Arlington National Cemetery and, just as that flame will burn forever, so will the flame of conspiracy.

Endnotes for Interpretation B

[1] David W. Belin, "The Warren Commission—Why We Still Don't Believe It," *The New York Times Magazine*, November 20, 1988, p. 76.

[2] *Report of the Warren Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy*, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), pp. 88–89.

[3] NOVA, "Who Shot President Kennedy?" narrated by Walter Cronkite, WGBH, November 15, 1988.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Warren Commission, pp. 91–95.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] NOVA.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY SERIES

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TEACHER'S GUIDE

BOOK FOUR

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TO
VIETNAM WAR

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FOR

Mom and Dad and
Helen and Charlie

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INTRODUCTION

Overview of This Section

This teacher's guide contains an introduction; reproducible introductory lessons for each skill covered in the series; suggested teaching strategies and answers for each lesson in the student text; and test questions. The introduction includes:

1. an introduction to the process of critical thinking;
2. a rationale for the series;
3. a description of the role of the teacher, including an overview of the *Teacher's Guide*, suggestions for classroom methods for teaching critical thinking in history, and various suggestions for evaluating student progress;
4. a description of the role of the student, including an overview of the student text;
5. a chart of the scope and sequences of skills developed in this text;
6. a bibliography of sources on critical thinking.

What Is Critical Thinking?

One author calls critical thinking "reasoned judgment." For the purposes of this series, critical thinking is *judging* the worth of claims or arguments. It involves judgment, assessment, and evaluation. The critical thinker has a healthy skepticism and asks probing questions; the noncritical thinker is likely to jump to conclusions and believe whatever is claimed.

Critical thinking is not the same as creative thinking, brainstorming, problem solving, decision making, conceptualizing, or Bloom's taxonomy—although it is involved in the judgment phase of problem solving and decision making. Neither is it the same as asking students to compare and contrast or to categorize—for those activities do not require students to evaluate the comparisons made or categories delineated.

Only level six (evaluation) of Bloom's taxonomy involves critical thinking. Level four (analysis) is so important to evaluation of arguments, however, that some of these skills are also directly taught in these books.

The following analysis and evaluation skills are included in the series.

— Analysis Skills —

- Differentiating between conclusions and reasons
- Identifying types of reasoning
- Identifying sources of information
- Classifying parts of an argument based on cue words, value words, emotional words, and change-of-direction words
- Identifying assumptions and value judgments

— Evaluation Skills —

- Evaluating the relevance of reasons to conclusions
- Evaluating types of reasoning
- Evaluating sources
- Evaluating assumptions and value judgments

Overall, then, the critical thinker asks, "Why should I believe this?" and offers reasoned judgments in answer to that question. These books are meant to arm students with the critical-thinking skills necessary to make reasoned judgments, to prod them into asking questions, and to give them the confidence both to ask questions and to offer judgments.

About This Series

This four-volume series, Evaluating Viewpoints: Critical Thinking in United States History, is intended to improve critical thinking through evaluation of conflicting viewpoints of United States history. The books are chronological, each covering a particular time period.

Book 1: Colonies Through Constitution
(1492–1789)

Book 2: New Republic Through Civil War
(1790–1865)

Book 3: Reconstruction Through Progressivism
(1865–1914)

Book 4: Spanish-American War Through Vietnam War
(1900–1980)

There is not, however, chronological coverage within each book. Each lesson is a self-contained problem that can be "plugged in" at any point in a corresponding history unit.

These books are thus meant to supplement other curriculum materials, not to be the sole text for a course.

As mentioned in the introduction of the student text, the root word of history is *story*. In this series, emphasis is on helping students see that the "story" of history can be told in different ways and that values, attitudes, perceptions, and selection all shape the way people see the past. These books are intended to show students that historical subject matter is not some unchanging, agreed upon, and complete subject to be memorized, but rather is changing, selective, fragmentary, and open to interpretation.

The target of this series is understanding, not memorizing. Studies in cognitive psychology indicate that memorization lasts only a short time. Focusing on problems, thinking, and understanding helps students remember the content of history much longer.

The Role of the Teacher

About the Teacher's Guide

The *Teacher's Guide* contains:

1. an introduction to the series;
2. reproducible worksheets for introducing each skill;
3. objectives, teaching ideas, and suggested answers for each lesson;
4. possible test questions and suggested answers.

Twelve skill worksheets are included in the *Teacher's Guide* of each book in the series. These can be used to promote a questioning attitude (Worksheet A), introduce particular skills (Worksheets B–J), or serve as general worksheets for evaluating any film or written argument (Worksheets K–L). The teaching ideas and the suggested answers are intended as guidance for the teacher, not as rigid lesson plans or right answers. The emphasis is on thinking, not on "correct" answers.

A key element in the emphasis on teaching, practicing, and repeating critical thinking skills is the "Scope and Sequence of Skills" chart on pages 12–13. Once you have decided which skills to teach, this chart will serve as a quick reference to their location in each book and to help you select appropriate lessons for practice and repetition. Values are included under "Assumptions" in the scope-and-sequence chart, since they are a kind of assumption about the way the world should be. Those lessons focusing on values are marked with a "v."

Some skills are not represented on the scope-and-sequence chart. Although these skills are not **explicitly** taught in any lesson in the book, they are a part of many of the problem lessons. For example, finding the main idea is an important part of evaluating the interpretations in the book. The importance of using key words for encoding parts of arguments is also a part of many problem lessons, but is never explicitly taught in any specific lesson. For further information on critical thinking, refer to the Bibliography of Sources on Critical Thinking on page 11 in this book.

Classroom Methods for Teaching Critical Thinking in History

Unlike other anthologies of opposing viewpoints, this series focuses on how to analyze and evaluate arguments. In improving athletic performance, coaches know that a systematic approach works best. Skills must be broken down and their components explained; the athlete has to try the skill with the guidance of the coach; the athlete must repeatedly practice the skill; and, finally, the skills must be applied in the athletic contest. This same method is used in these books to teach skills of critical thinking. Each skill is broken down and explained in the "Guide to Critical Thinking"; with the guidance of the teacher and/or other students, the student tries the skill on worksheets; additional worksheets provide practice as the student repeats the skill; and, finally, the student applies the skill to new opposing-viewpoint problems. This pattern of skill instruction is outlined below.

Pattern of Skill Instruction

1. INITIAL PROBLEM

In the books in this series, students are confronted with a historical problem from the student text. Since the problem consists of opposing viewpoints, students are forced to evaluate the viewpoints to arrive at a conclusion. This raises the need to learn to think critically in deciding which viewpoint to believe.

2. FAMILIAR EXAMPLE

The teacher gives the class an everyday problem, either from the "Guide to Critical Thinking" or an introductory worksheet, on the skill involved in step 1. Familiar examples make it easier for students to learn the skill.

3. METACOGNITION

This step offers direct teaching of analysis and/or evaluation skills. As the class discusses answers to the familiar problem in step 2, they discuss how class members arrived at their answers. The focus here is on *metacognition*—thinking about thinking, not about the content of the problem—and the components are taught directly. What is involved in performing the skill? What are the steps in the skill? What are the criteria for evaluation? A diagram of the steps or criteria is then posted in the classroom and/or drawn in the "skills" section of students' notebooks. Ideally, the students, guided by the teacher, will identify the components of the skill; those the class cannot identify can be taught directly by the teacher using the "Guide to Critical Thinking."

4. GUIDED PRACTICE

The students are referred back to the historical problem in step 1 and directed to discuss its evaluation in light of the skill they have learned. The students employ the skill on the problem and on worksheets with the guidance of the teacher and other students.

5. MASTERY

Students repeatedly practice the skill on additional worksheets and in class discussions.

6. EXTENSION

As the course progresses, students extend the skill as they apply it to new historical problems.

Class Discussions

From this emphasis on specific critical thinking skills, it can be seen that class discussions of the opposing viewpoints presented in the books are not to be free-for-alls, where all opinions are equally good. Students are expected to employ the skills learned in previous classes, to question assertions made by their classmates, and to defend their own assertions with evidence and reasons. This is a far cry from an emphasis on right answers. In this series, the emphasis is on good thinking, not on right answers.

Adaptation

Obviously, some of the lessons in this text are more difficult than others. Teachers can make easy lessons more challenging by eliminating step-by-step questions or worksheets or by making students produce their own examples to illustrate particular skills. Lessons that are too difficult for some classes can be made easier by doing only a portion of the lesson, by focusing on only a single skill, or by giving students the step-by-step worksheet on the topic. Refer to teaching suggestions on specific lessons for further guidance in the difficulty level of each lesson within this book.

Using the "Guide to Critical Thinking"

The "Guide to Critical Thinking," the first unit in each student text, is meant to help teachers with the direct instruction of key elements of the various critical thinking skills. These key skills are summarized in the chart on pages 12–13.

Although the Guide touches on numerous skills related to the evaluation of interpretations or arguments, it focuses on four of these skills: evaluation of evidence, evaluation of cause-and-effect reasoning, evaluation of comparison reasoning (analogy), and evaluation of generalizations. A grasp of these four argument components is an enormous help in the students' ability to think critically.

The section on *evidence* emphasizes the idea of sources of information. Rather than distinguishing between evidence, which has a source, and information, which provides no source, students are simply instructed to ask, "Is there a source?" whenever they encounter information in support of a claim. If not, they are to note that weakness. If yes, they are to evaluate it. Introductory Worksheet B (pp. 33–34 in this book) provides a concrete problem for determining and evaluating evidence.

In the section on *reasoning*, it is again important to note that students are not only taught to identify the type of reasoning but also to evaluate it. It is not enough that a student says, "This is a cause-and-effect argument." The student must also say whether it is a strong or weak cause-and-effect argument and give reasons for saying so. A concrete problem for introducing cause-and-effect reasoning can be found in the teaching ideas for Introductory Worksheet E (pp. 39–40 in this book).

The section on *evaluating comparisons* (analogies) is not the same as the activity of compare and contrast. This critical thinking skill focuses on evaluating comparison arguments, or what is sometimes called analogic reasoning. For example, asking students to compare and contrast the fighting in Nicaragua in the 1980s with the Vietnam War is very different from asking them to evaluate the argument "The United States should not be involved in fighting in Nicaragua because it will turn into another Vietnam." Although both assignments involve basic knowledge of the two situations, the second assignment requires students to identify the type of reasoning used and to implement comparison and contrast without being cued to do so (as in the first assignment). A concrete problem for introducing comparison reasoning is in the teaching ideas for Introductory Worksheet F (pp. 41–42 in this book).

The term *generalization*, rather than *sample reasoning*, is used for this skill. Use the pizza example on page 8 of the student book as a concrete problem for introducing generalizations. Ask "Suppose you bit into a pizza and the bite was cold. What might you conclude about the pizza?" The strength of a generalization can be determined by asking, "How large and representative is the sample?" Some people, however, believe that randomness is better than representativeness as a method for achieving an accurate sample. In any event, you might want to mention to your students that randomness is also a commonly accepted method of sampling.

Fallacies, although included with each type of reasoning, are not emphasized either in the Guide or in the lessons. Simply teaching students a few questions to ask (and the willingness to ask them) within several broad areas of reasoning will usually be more helpful than teaching them a larger number of fallacies and having them try to fit real arguments into one of these fallacies.

Several points emphasized in the ARMEAR model on page 18 in the student text are not emphasized elsewhere in the Guide. One such point is questions about the author (A); the second is relevant information (R). Students should be taught to bring any information that might be relevant to bear on the topic. They may, of course, have difficulty determining what is relevant. Additionally, they are not in the habit of seeing the relevance of one topic to another. To encourage the habit of thinking about what might be relevant to a historical problem, a number of lessons include relevant information sheets. Students who don't use the sheets can't do a complete analysis of the arguments. Encouraging this habit of calling on what they know helps students view history as a fund of knowledge to be drawn upon to help provide perspective on other, similar issues. History thereby becomes more meaningful.

Skill Transfer

Many of the worksheets contain both everyday and historic argument examples. This mixture is intended to promote transfer of the skills learned into other areas of the students' lives. Teachers can facilitate this transfer of critical thinking skills learned in history class to other subject areas by having students debate topics then analyze the reasoning they used in the debate. When students realize that they use the same reasoning elements in their own thinking, they are more likely to transfer them into other areas of their lives. Another important method for promoting skill transfer is to listen carefully to student chatter before class starts. If you can ask a question on the use of a particular type of reasoning on a topic heard in a student conversation, you will connect the skill learned in history to the students' everyday lives.

Evaluation

Test questions are provided at the end of this teacher's guide, and the many problem sheets in the student text provide even more possible test questions. Of course, teachers should consider the viewpoints in the longer problems for essay assignments. These can be evaluation essays, such as "Evaluate Historian A's argument on immigration. In your essay identify and evaluate two pieces of evidence and two types of reasoning."

WRITING AND THINKING

Writing skills are an important part of this curriculum, and students should be held accountable for their critical thinking skills when they write any essay assignment. A sample student assignment might be, "Write a minimum 250-word essay on the main cause of the American Revolution. In your essay you are to show what makes a strong cause, support your case with one piece of evidence, and explain why this is strong evidence." Students must learn how to construct strong arguments in addition to evaluating the arguments made by others.

Overview of Book 4

Book 4 is comprised of the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1), ten introductory worksheets, and twenty-nine lessons divided into four units. Lessons 1–9 are in the United States as a World Power unit; Lessons 10–16 in the 1920s and the New Deal unit; Lessons 17–22 in the Foreign Policy Since 1945 unit; and Lessons 23–29 in the Modern American Society and Politics unit. The table of contents and the scope-and-sequence chart show the specific topic and the emphasized skills of each lesson.

> Lessons with titles phrased as questions are historical problems rather than worksheets. These problems involve numerous skills and focus on historical issues; worksheets focus on a single skill and mix familiar with historical content, rather than considering overriding historical questions.

The first four skills (evidence, cause-and-effect, comparison, and generalization) involve both identification and evaluation. A few lessons focus on either identification or evaluation, but most consider both.

Some teachers will prefer to use just the historical problem lessons. As mentioned above, these are the last three or four lessons in each unit (Lessons 6–10, 13–16, 20–22, and 27–29). These problem lessons can be used to teach a variety of skills and are interesting topics to study. Worksheet lessons, on the other hand, provide practice in particular skills to help students do more complete analyses of the interpretations in the problem lessons. The worksheet lessons provide sequencing of each skill.

The list of major sources used (p. 167 in the student text) shows that the viewpoints in Book 4 are based on major interpretations: Colin Simpson and Thomas Bailey on the *Lusitania*; the Nye Committee and Charles Seymour on the United States entry into World War I; Milton Friedman and Peter Temin on the causes of the Great Depression; Paul Conkin and William Leuchtenburg on the New Deal; Gar Alperovitz and Herbert Feis on the atomic bomb; John Lewis Gaddis, Martin Herz, and Gabriel Kolko on the origins of the cold war; Frances Fitzgerald, David Halberstam, Guenter Lewy and William Westmoreland on the Vietnam War; Richard Rovere and Robert Steele on Senator Joe McCarthy; and Mark Lane, David Lifton and the Warren Commission report on the Kennedy assassination.

While these are all well known interpretations, some are highly controversial. People may argue that some of the interpretations are quite fanciful, not credible enough to even bring to student attention. But if some of the interpretations are weak, let the students recognize their weaknesses. Good arguments are judged good because they are stronger than bad arguments. Students need to encounter and evaluate both.

The Role of the Student

The student book contains the "Guide to Critical Thinking" and twenty-nine lessons involving critical thinking. The "Guide to Critical Thinking" is intended to be used when students have a need to learn the components of a particular skill. While some may find it worthwhile to read through the whole Guide to get an overview of the skills involved in argument evaluation, it is not recommended that students study all the various skills at once. Rather, they should refer to the part of the Guide that explains the skill they are currently learning.

The historical lessons consist of both a short problem section for practicing skills (1–2 pages each) and longer historical problems (2–25 pages each) with opposing viewpoints. Paragraphs in longer viewpoints are numbered to make discussion and referencing easier.

Particular skills, especially generalizations and cause-and-effect reasoning, are explained with visual models. These have proven helpful for some, and students regularly use them to help evaluate arguments on tests.

These books focus on formulating good arguments as well as evaluating arguments offered by others. In this way, students should begin to question their own assumptions, points of view, and prejudices. This self-criticism, referred to by Richard Paul as "critical thinking in the strong sense," is an important, if difficult, goal to achieve.

Students should begin to see historical knowledge as changing, selective, fragmentary, and open to question. This change in student attitudes about the nature of historical knowledge (epistemology) is as important as their mastery of critical thinking skills. Beginning with Worksheet A, students should be encouraged, even expected, to question viewpoints presented. The problem format helps students see history the way it really is and to ask questions. It also makes history much more interesting.

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Scope and Sequence of Skills • Book 4

Abbreviations used in this chart are as follows: (**TG**)–Teacher's Guide; (**GTC**)–"Guide to Critical Thinking," Unit 1 in Student Book; (**v**)–Values; (**f**)–Fallacy.

Lesson	Topic	Evidence	Cause/Effect	Comparison	Generalization	Assumption	Relevant Information	Proof and Debating
Concrete Example		TG 14	TG 19	TG 39	GCT 8	—	—	—
Explanation		GCT 2	GCT 5	GCT 7	GCT 8	GCT 15	GCT 18	GCT 11
Introductory Worksheets								
A	Bermuda Triangle	▨	▨		▨	▨		
B, C, D	Evaluating Evidence	▨						
E	Cause and Effect Reasoning		▨					
F, G	Evaluating Comparisons			▨				
H	Evaluating Generalizations				▨			
I, J	Identifying Assumptions					▨		
United States as a World Power								
1	Foreign Policy	▨						
2	Foreign Policy	▨						
3	Foreign Policy		▨					
4	Spanish-American War		▨					
5	Foreign Policy				▨			
6	Spanish-American War	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨		▨
7	Imperialism	▨	▨	▨	▨			
8	Lusitania	▨				▨ (v)		
9	World War I	▨	▨ (f)			▨		▨ (f)

Scope and Sequence of Skills • Book 4 (continued)

1920s and the New Deal

Lesson	Topic	Evidence	Cause/Effect	Comparison	Generalization	Assumption	Relevant Information	Proof and Debating
10	1920s and 1930s	▨						
11	1920s and 1930s			▨				
12	Prohibition and 1920s		▨					
13	Sacco and Vanzetti	▨						
14	Causes of Depression	▨	▨			▨	▨	
15	New Deal		▨			▨		
16	New Deal	▨	▨		▨	▨		

Foreign Policy Since 1945

Lesson	Topic	Evidence	Cause/Effect	Comparison	Generalization	Assumption	Relevant Information	Proof and Debating
17	Cold War	▨						
18	Cold War					▨ (v)		
19	Foreign Policy Since 1945		▨	▨	▨			▨ (f)
20	Atom Bomb	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨ (v)	▨	▨
21	Origins of the Cold War	▨	▨	▨	▨ (f)	▨ (v)	▨	▨ (f)
22	Vietnam	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨ (v)	▨	▨

Modern American Society and Politics

Lesson	Topic	Evidence	Cause/Effect	Comparison	Generalization	Assumption	Relevant Information	Proof and Debating
23	McCarthyism	▨						
24	Urban Riots		▨					
25	Society and Politics		▨	▨	▨			▨
26	Civil Rights		▨	▨	▨			▨
27	Black Mobility		▨				▨	
28	Working Women		▨				▨	
29	Kennedy Assassination	▨	▨					

UNIT 1
INTRODUCTORY LESSONS FOR SKILL DEVELOPMENT

Worksheet A: The Bermuda Triangle

Objectives

To increase skepticism of what is read, seen, or heard
To develop inclination and ability to question statements

Teaching Ideas

PREPARATION

Give students copies of the first page of the worksheet (page 31) and ask them to write their reaction to it. Do not allow discussion at this point. Check to make sure everyone has written something. If some students say they don't understand what to write, tell them to write down how they feel about the reading, but don't go into any more detail. The whole idea is to avoid letting them know what reactions you are looking for.

USING THE WORKSHEET

Some students will accept the argument in the handout without any criticisms. Many students feel that anything written down must be true. When the discussion begins they will see that some of their classmates were more skeptical and that the argument should not have been blindly accepted.

When you distribute copies of the Relevant Information sheet (page 32), this lesson in skepticism should be reinforced. After students read the relevant information, the author's argument should look very weak.

EXTENDING THE LESSON

This reading might also be used to teach a number of other skills, such as finding the main idea, identifying value and emotional words, identifying assumptions and fallacies, and evaluating evidence.

Suggested Analysis

The author argues that one hundred ships go down each year, but does not compare that to the number of ships in the area (ten thousand distress calls) or to the number of sinkings in other areas of the ocean.

In paragraph 6 the author uses the "leading question technique" when he asks why pilot Cosner did not go on Flight 19. Maybe Cosner was constipated or had the flu. The later suggestion that he had a "peculiar feeling" is not really argued or supported by evidence. Similarly, the author suggests that the Navy is covering up the situation by not saying anything about it. But maybe the Navy has not bothered to deny it because the whole theory is so ridiculous.

Worksheet B: Evaluating Evidence

Objectives

To increase ability in identifying evidence
To increase ability in evaluating evidence

Teaching Ideas

Introducing the Skill

To introduce the skills of identifying and evaluating evidence, take five students into the hallway, out of the class's sight, and tell them they are going to role play a murder. Have three students stay near your classroom door, one student go 25 feet down the hall in one direction, and the other student go 25 feet in the opposite direction. Tell them they are to watch carefully. Hand one of the three students by the door a pen and tell him or her to point it at one of the other students in the hall and yell, "Bang!" Tell the "murdered" student to fall down.

Bring the five students back together, and tell them the rest of the class is going to ask them questions to figure out who committed the crime. Only the murderer may lie; the witnesses (everyone else in the hall) must tell the truth. Tell the other witnesses they must tell everything they know. They are not to hide information or try to confuse the class.

When using this in class, substitute the corresponding student name for each of the roles in italics.

Re-enter the classroom with the five students. Tell the class that *the victim* was just killed, and have that person sit down. Tell the class that their task is to figure out who did it by questioning the four witnesses. [At some point a student may ask where the murder weapon is. If so, produce the pen (tell them it's a poison-dart gun) and ask if they have any questions about the weapon. If they ask about fingerprints, say that only *the murderer's* fingerprints are on it.] Later, tell the class that you have a letter, dated a month ago, written by *the murderer* to a close friend saying he or she was going to get even with *the victim*. Don't be discouraged if the students don't ask very good questions. Even advanced classes have had difficulty with this introductory exercise.

After ten to fifteen minutes, tell the class that you're going to stop talking about who committed the murder and, instead, talk about the skill involved in trying to decide who did it. This is the metacognitive stage. Ask the class what they think evidence is. [Based on this activity: statements by witnesses, objects that were part of the event, or written documents.]

The best way to get at the criteria for evaluating evidence is to ask the general question: How did you decide which

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evidence to believe? This way the class will generate the criteria themselves. If the general question proves too difficult you can ask more specific questions:

Ask the class why they didn't believe *the murderer* when s/he said s/he didn't do it. [S/he had a reason to lie to protect him- or herself.] Suppose *the murderer* said *a witness* did it, and *that witness* said *the murderer* did it, and that's all the class knew. Could they have told who was guilty? [No.] So why did they believe *that witness* over *the murderer*? [Because other witnesses supported *that witness's* version by saying *the murderer* did it.] Suppose a third witness was around the corner when the murder occurred. Would that strengthen or weaken his/her evidence? [Weaken it.] Why? [The testimony is now given by someone who did not see the crime—a secondary source.] Is *the murderer* more likely to tell the truth in the trial or in a letter to a friend? [This is tricky, but the private letter is generally more reliable.]

REVIEWING THE SKILL

Write the criteria for evaluating evidence (see section on **Evaluation** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking," student text, page 3) on the board and have students copy it into their notebooks. You could also ask a volunteer to make a poster to remind students of the criteria (below).

EVALUATING EVIDENCE

Is there a source for the information?

If no, the information is unsupported and weakened.

If yes, evaluate it:

P — primary or secondary?
R — reason to lie or exaggerate?
O — other evidence to verify this evidence?
P — public or private?

This process of making posters for the classroom can be repeated for other skills and their criteria.

USING THE WORKSHEET

When the class has completed the role-play activity and the discussion, you can pass out Worksheet B (pp. 33–34) as an immediate follow-up on evaluating evidence. Tell the students they are going to practice what they have just learned about evaluating evidence.

Suggested Answers

- The jury was probably right in its guilty verdict.

Point out that making the historical judgment that Lucky stabbed John Jones is not the same as finding him guilty in court. In history, unlike in court, we do not have to prove something "beyond a reasonable doubt," but rather provide enough evidence to show that the person probably did it. In other words, we might say we think Lucky committed the murder, but should have been found "not guilty" in court. We do not presume innocence in history as we do in trials.

A. Statements are numbers 1–10, 12, and 15– 17.

B. Documents are numbers 14 and 18.

C. Objects are numbers 11 and 13.

- The evidence is evaluated as follows.

P—Is the evidence primary?

R—Does the person have a reason to lie?

O—Is there other supporting evidence?

P—Is the evidence private?

	4	7	10	11	14	17	18
P	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
R	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no
O	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
P	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes

- Since evidence 18 is private and seems to have no reason to lie, it is more reliable than evidence 4. Not foolproof; just more likely to be reliable.

Worksheet C: Sources and Evidence

Objectives

To identify sources
To evaluate evidence

Teaching Ideas

USING THE WORKSHEET

Students must first determine if a source for the information is given. Then, if there is a source, they are to evaluate it according to the four questions explained in the Worksheet C handout.

Distribute copies of the worksheet and ask the students to complete as much as they can. Remind them that a longer explanation of evidence can be found on pages 2–4 in Unit 1 of their book.

When students have filled in as much of the sheet as they can, have them compare answers in groups of three. Finally, discuss the worksheet as a class.

Suggested Answers

1. Since the statement gives no source for the information, it cannot be further evaluated. Thus, the evidence is not well supported.

   [You will need to point out to some students that even though a specific figure ($15 million) is used, we do not know where the figure came from; no source is given.]

2. The scorebook is the source for the statistic. **P**—it is a primary source, since the scorekeeper had to be at the games; **R**—there is no reason for the scorebook (or scorekeeper) to lie about hits and times at bat (batting average); **O**—there is no other evidence given to support the claim that Kurt is a great hitter; **P**—it is a public statement. **Overall**, this would be considered a reliable source.

3. The three workers' statements at the public hearings are the source. **P**—the workers say they saw payoffs, so they are primary sources; **R**—the workers might have motives to lie or exaggerate if they do not like Mayor Pratt; **O**—the three workers verify each other; **P**—these are public statements. **Overall**, the fact that three people were willing to risk testifying about the corruption does carry some weight, although the evidence is not as reliable as that in problem 2.

4. There is no source given for the information, so it is not well supported.

Worksheet D: Evaluating Evidence — PROP

Objectives

To evaluate sources of evidence

Teaching Ideas

USING THE WORKSHEET

Pass out the worksheet. Ask the students to fill it in then discuss their answers as a class. If students are confused about any of the criteria, the following questions may help them clarify their evaluations.

QUESTIONS FOR DETERMINING EVIDENCE

- To determine if someone is a **primary source**, ask, "Was this person at the location when the event occurred, or was she talking about herself?"
- To determine if someone has a **reason to lie**, ask, "Did this person make him- or herself look good by the statement?" [Why would s/he lie to make him or herself look bad?]
- To determine if there is **other supporting evidence**, ask, "Who said this? Did any other people say the same thing?"
- To determine if the evidence is **public**, ask, "Did this person make the statement to influence anyone else? Does he or she think anyone other than the person spoken to would hear what was said?"

Suggested Answers

1. Yu-chi **P**—is a primary source; **R**—has a reason to lie; **O**—presents no supporting evidence; **P**—the statement is public, meant to influence his father. **Overall**, the evidence is not very reliable because of the reason to lie and the lack of supporting evidence.
2. Laura **P**—is a primary source about talking with Jill (but she was not at the scene of the baby-sitting); **R**—may have a reason to lie if she wants to protect Jill (we don't know); **O**—has supporting evidence provided by Connie's and Ellen's statements; **P**—the statement is public, meant to influence Bob. **Overall**, this is fairly good evidence.
3. Christie **P**—is a primary source; **R**—has no reason to lie, as her statement places the blame on herself; **O**—offers no supporting evidence; **P**—it is a public statement. **Overall**, Christie's evidence is strong. [Admitting she had done wrong is unlikely to be a lie, but it is possible—for example, if she had failed because she had skipped school, which might have gotten her into worse trouble.]

Worksheet E: Cause-and-Effect Reasoning

Objectives

To recognize cause-and-effect reasoning
To evaluate cause-and-effect reasoning

Teaching Ideas

INTRODUCING THE SKILL

Introduce cause-and-effect reasoning by telling the class that you, the teacher, just entered the emergency room with a terrible pain in your stomach. They are the doctors on duty. What would they ask? Set it up that you have been at the beach all day and left your ham and mayonnaise sandwich out in the hot sun.

Although some student may focus on what you ate and the likelihood of food poisoning early in the discussion, other students may later ask questions about appendicitis, medication, and alcohol. They are considering other possible causes for the problem. You could ask the class how they could test their hypothesis further to focus them on the connection between each proposed cause and effect. How could they check to be more certain it was food poisoning from the sandwich? (A blood test showing bacteria in the blood would show a connection).

REINFORCING THE SKILL

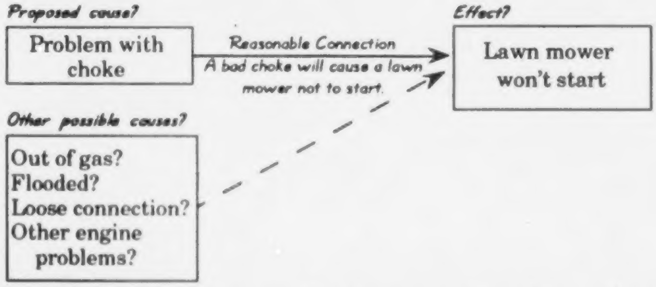
While these questions for evaluating cause-and-effect reasoning are being discussed, write them on the chalkboard. As with evaluating evidence, the students should be instructed to copy the questions into their notebooks and someone should make a poster to be put up in the classroom. For further discussion of this skill, refer students to the **Cause-and-Effect Reasoning** section of the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (pp. 5–7 in their text).

USING THE WORKSHEET

Once you have laid out the steps in evaluating cause-and-effect reasoning you can pass out Worksheet E for students to try for guided practice. When they have completed the worksheet, have them compare answers in small groups or in a whole-class discussion.

Suggested Answers

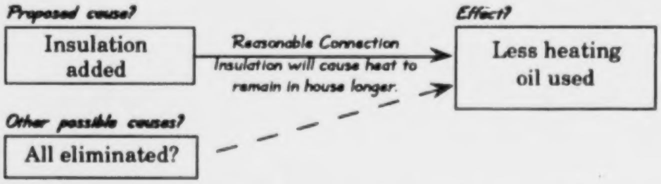
1.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

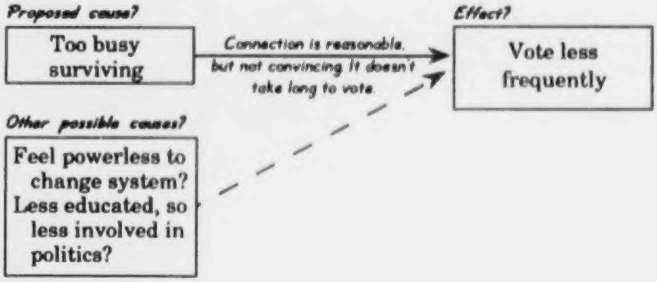
Overall, this is not very strong reasoning since other possible causes have not been ruled out.

2.


Proposed cause?
Insulation added
Reasonable Connection
Insulation will cause heat to remain in house longer.
Effect?
Less heating oil used
Other possible causes?
All eliminated?

Overall, this is very strong reasoning since other possible causes have been ruled out.

3.


Proposed cause?
Too busy surviving
Connection is reasonable, but not convincing. It doesn't take long to vote.
Effect?
Vote less frequently
Other possible causes?
Feel powerless to change system?
Less educated, so less involved in politics?

Overall, the other possible causes seem as important to the effect as the proposed cause. It is not a very strong argument.

Worksheet F: Comparison Arguments

Objectives

To introduce criteria for evaluating comparisons

Teaching Ideas

INTRODUCING THE SKILL

Have students do the introductory problem first. Make sure they write down their questions, then discuss the problem as a class.

After they have given their answers to the autocross problem, ask students what questions they ask to evaluate comparisons in general? (How are the two cases different?) If necessary, refer students to the section on **Comparisons** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (pp. 7–8 in the student text).

USING THE WORKSHEET

When students are ready to evaluate the comparison arguments, have them write their answers individually, then discuss the problems in small groups. Note to students that in Problem 3, since Candice is arguing that the radios are different, the students should focus on identifying similarities.

Suggested Answers

INTRODUCTORY PROBLEM

Some Autocross Race questions to ask:

1. What kind of car were you driving?
2. Was it the same course?
3. What were the weather conditions?

Emphasize to the students that they already know how to evaluate comparison arguments. They just showed it by the questions they asked.

COMPARISONS

1. Margarine substitute

   — Compared: butter and margarine

   — Possible differences: taste; amount or type of fat

   — Possible similarities: function in baking

   — Overall: They are similar enough to allow the cake to still come out as a cake, although there might be some difference in taste and texture. To demonstrate the similarities between butter and margarine, ask students what would happen if they substituted jelly for butter.

2. Statewide test

   — Compared: student performance on one test at Centralville and Evantown

— Possible differences:

a. The student body of the two schools might be very different. For example, students might vary in educational background, ethnic background, economic opportunities, or social class.
b. The test may have been given in different grades in the two schools.
c. The curriculum at Centralville might be more suited to the test.
d. Testing circumstances at the two schools may have differed; e.g., physical testing environment; attitudes of students toward test; school activities before or after test, etc.

—Possible similarities: All above items might be similar rather than different.

—Overall: Not enough information is given. If most or all of the above items are different, then the comparison is very weak.

3. Deluxe Radio

—Compared: deluxe and standard radio models

—Possible differences: Cost is the only known difference; number of stations and sound quality are implied differences.

—Possible similarities: We don't know if the standard radio can also do the things the deluxe model can do.

—Overall: Candice has not drawn a reasonable conclusion. She may be satisfied with the radio, but she has not shown that the extra $50 was worth it. If the standard radio plays all the stations she likes and has a clear sound, then Candice's money was not well spent. In this comparison, the possible similarities undermine the argument because Candice is arguing they are different and that the difference makes the extra money spent worthwhile.

Worksheet G: Understanding Comparisons

Objectives

To identify comparison reasoning
To evaluate comparison arguments

Teaching Ideas

Have students write their answers individually, then discuss and defend their answers in small groups. Or you can discuss answers as a class.

Suggested Answers

- Numbers **1** and **5** are comparisons. Other items may have comparisons implied in them, but the comparison is not a key part of the argument.

8. A
9. D
10. D
11. D
12. A
13. A
14. D

15. a. Compares John's taste in movies to mine.
    b. It's an alike comparison.
    c. Since John is different from me in some ways, his taste in movies is likely to be different from mine in some ways.
    d. If John's movie taste is different from mine in a way that's important for this movie, then it might be a poor comparison. For example, if John doesn't mind violence in movies but I do, and if this movie is violent, then the comparison argument is faulty.

16. a. Compares Wranglers' team record to Panthers' team record.
    b. It's a different comparison (claims that since they are different from each other in a particular way, they are different in other particular ways also).
    c. Additional information would be needed in the areas of number of games and opponents. They may be similar or different.
    d. The more similarities that are found between the two teams, the stronger the argument that the Wranglers' team is better.

17. a. Compares state university to private college.
    b. It's an alike comparison.

c. Areas of possible comparison might include social life, facilities, library sources, cost, etc.

d. Maybe other aspects of the private college are better. On the other hand, if the campus and professors are the most important considerations to Carrie, then this is a good comparison.

18. a. Compares the private college to public colleges. (The comparison is implicit in "extra money.")

b. It is a difference comparison.

c–d. Since the statement doesn't say that the soccer team and the professors are better than at other, less expensive schools, there is no basis for making the claim that the extra money was worth it.

Worksheet H: Evaluating Generalizations

Objectives

To recognize and evaluate generalizations

Teaching Ideas

USING THE WORKSHEET

The first worksheet section focuses on evaluating generalization claims. A circle diagram is shown for the example problem. If students find such diagrams helpful, encourage them to draw their own for problems 1–3.

The second section of the worksheet focuses on how far given information may be generalized. There is room for reasonable disagreement on these questions, so try to avoid pushing for one right answer. Ask students for the reasons for their answers. Focus on the subgroups of the major group in the generalization.

You might want to have the class read over the section on generalizations in the "Guide to Critical Thinking." If not, you can refer them to that section if they need help.

Suggested Answers

1. a. The generalization is that most kids in the school watch more than 12 hours of television a week.
   b. Subgroups might include honors, average, or remedial students; those involved in extracurricular activities and those who aren't; students who have jobs and those who don't; students from various income levels; students of various home environments; and so forth.
   c. The sample is relatively small (30 out of 800, or about 4%).
   d. The sample may have most of the subgroups by random distribution, but since it is a specific class, it is an ability group.
   e. This isn't a great sample because the amount of homework generally affects how much television a student watches. If this is a remedial class, the number of hours watched probably is not the same as the number of hours watched by honors students.
2. a. The generalization is that all Italians belong to the Mafia.
   b. Subgroups include different intelligence levels; different levels of education, income, and occupation; different geographic locations; different family lives and background; and so forth.

c. The sample may be exceedingly small (this person may know one Italian who belongs to the Mafia), somewhat larger (the person may live in an Italian neighborhood and know many Italians), or nonexistent (the person may have heard that Italians belong to the Mafia). Even with the larger sample, however, it is very small compared to the millions of Italians in the world.

d. We don't know much about the sample, but we can say with reasonable assurance that not all the subgroups are represented well.

e. This is a poor generalization. It is a good example of a stereotype—a large, complex group of people being simplified to all having a particular characteristic.

3. a. The generalization is that the population of Mudville rose dramatically in the 1970s.

b. As far as we know, the sample covers everyone in the large group (Mudville).

c. The generalization is very strong, which tells us that census records are good sources.

4. Neither A nor D are reasonable extensions of the information in your sample since both contain nonpublic, nonsuburban, and nonsecondary schools. (Is homework a key to good grades in elementary schools?) B, although restricted to your own suburban district, is weak for one of the same reasons that A and D are weak: it includes elementary schools. C is the best of the given choices. It is restricted to public suburban high schools, although it does extend the sample generalization too far geographically.

5. D is the best choice since it is the only one that emphasizes both the mountains and a strong defense. A emphasizes only defense, and it is unclear how being large or small affects avoiding war (B and C).

6. A is the best choice. The students in your school may be different (for example, in terms of educational or cultural background) from those in other schools, which makes it difficult to extend the sample beyond your own school (B and C). The information you have says nothing about the type of music students do not like.

Worksheet I: Identifying Unstated Assumptions—1

Objectives

To recognize arguments based on assumptions
To identify assumptions made by others

Teaching Ideas

Introducing the Skill

To encourage students to begin recognizing their own assumptions, give half the class statement 1 and the other half statement 2. Ask them to write an answer to the question. Don't say they have different statements.

1. "The Soviet Union gives a great deal of economic aid to India." Why do you think the Soviet Union does this?
2. "The United States gives a great deal of economic aid to India." Why do you think the United States does this?

When each student has written a response, list the various reasons on the chalkboard and ask the students to count the number of positive and negative motives attributed to each country. Were more positive motives given to the United States? If so, why?

Students may contend that the Soviet Union is an expansionist country which is trying to spread communism. The question "How do you know they are expansionist?" will force them to examine how they arrived at their belief. Similarly, "How do you know the United States is giving aid for humanitarian reasons?" will force them to question how they arrived at that belief. While it *may* be true that Soviet aid is self-serving and American aid is humanitarian, students should examine how they arrived at these beliefs. Did they have supporting evidence or did their frame of reference lead to the assumption?

Using the Worksheet

It is probably better to start with this worksheet rather than Worksheet J. If students can identify the assumptions on this worksheet, then they probably do not need the more structured approach.

Suggested Answers

1. Your brother gets good grades in school because he studies. Your lower grades in school are due to lack of study (as opposed to other reasons).
2. Peter is the same age as (or older than) Marie.
3. You run faster than I do.
4. You don't have good writing skills.
5. I don't have other unexpected expenses. I'll be alive. I'll be able to drive.
6. Drinking is a way to enjoy life. Jim is too serious.

Worksheet J: Identifying Unstated Assumptions—2

Objectives

To provide a structured approach to identifying assumptions in arguments

Teaching Ideas

It is probably a good idea to start assumptions with Introductory Worksheet I. If students can identify the assumptions in that worksheet, then they may not need this more structured approach. You may also choose to use this step-by-step approach with only a few students.

If you do use this worksheet, have the students discuss problem 1 as a class before they go on. Give students time to do problem 2 individually, then discuss their answers. Repeat this procedure for problem 3.

Suggested Answers

2. Step 1: (Premise) "Because" Fred works for a station which does fine work...

   Step 2: (Conclusion) "Therefore," Fred is a good mechanic.

   Step 3: (Unique parts) works for a station which does fine work/good mechanic

   Step 4: (Assumption) "People" who work for a station which does fine mechanical work must be good mechanics.

3. Step 1: (Premise) "Because" Sequoia is in the band (and Leona isn't)...

   Step 2: (Conclusion) "Therefore," Sequoia is a better musician (than Leona).

   Step 3: (Unique parts) in the band/better musician

   Step 4: (Assumption) "People" who are in a band are better musicians (than those who aren't).

WORKSHEET A The Bermuda Triangle

(1) The Bermuda Triangle—an area roughly from Bermuda, southwest to Florida, then east out into the Atlantic, and then northwest back to Bermuda—is one of the most dangerous and strange spots on earth. Beginning back in the 1600s and continuing to today, the number of ships lost in the Triangle is staggering. In recent years an average of about one hundred ships and many airplanes have been lost in the area each year. It is common knowledge among commercial pilots and ship captains that the Triangle is a dangerous place.

(2) What has happened to these boats and planes is especially mysterious, however, and that is what gives the area its name as the "Devil's Triangle." For example, a boat named the *Hollyhock* was off the coast of Florida when it suddenly lost radio contact with the coast. Later, it picked up California on the radio. Then it spotted land on its monitors where there was no land! The *Hollyhock* disappeared without a trace.

(3) Another boat, the *Witchcraft*, was at Buoy Number 7, only two miles off the coast of Miami, when the owner radioed to the Coast Guard for assistance because the boat was taking on water. He reassured the Coast Guard, however, that the boat was in no serious danger for it had built-in flotation chambers. When the Coast Guard arrived at Buoy Number 7, the *Witchcraft* had vanished.

(4) Airplanes, too, have had bizarre incidents. The *Star Tiger*, flying over the Devil's Triangle, suddenly lost all radio contact. No wreckage of the plane was ever found. In 1963 two KC-135 jet tankers disappeared three hundred miles southwest of Bermuda. What caused these planes to go down?

(5) Probably the most incredible incident concerned Training Flight 19, which took off from Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on December 5, 1945. Five Avenger aircraft took off that day on a regular Navy training flight. Pilot Cosner did not go on the flight. Why not? Commander Taylor also seemed hesitant. Did he have the same peculiar feeling as Cosner? The flight was routine at first, but then mysterious things started to happen. The pilots seemed confused and their instruments were doing weird things. The air base which had radio contact with the planes heard the pilots say, "Which way is west?" and the phrases "upside down" and "white water." The planes kept changing directions, almost flying in circles. Then—silence. A search plane was sent out and it, too, disappeared. The Navy has kept the incident quiet, and it hasn't denied the stories that authors have written about it.

(6) It is difficult to explain what happens in the Devil's Triangle. Some people believe there is a magnetic field which throws everything off. Others believe it has to do with the lost continent of Atlantis. Whatever the cause, it is worth thinking twice before traveling through this area—one of the strangest spots on our earth.

Relevant Information on the Bermuda Triangle

1. The *Star Tiger*'s flight was at night in poor weather.
2. It is not unheard of, although it is infrequent, for boats out in the ocean to pick up distant areas on the radio.
3. Rain clouds can sometimes look like land on radar.
4. The *Witchcraft* was out in bad weather.
5. Coast Guard reports make no mention of the *Witchcraft* being near Buoy Number 7. An author estimated the location by comparing several reports.
6. It would have taken the Coast Guard about twenty minutes to get from their station to where the *Witchcraft* was.
7. In twenty minutes a boat in calm seas can drift about one mile.
8. It is extremely difficult to find the wreckage of a plane or boat in the ocean, even on a clear day.
9. Debris found in one spot in the ocean contained the serial numbers of both KC-135 jet tankers. Some observers say this indicates that the two planes collided in the air.
10. The editor of *Aviation Week* stated that, based on a statistical analysis of the number of accidents in an area compared with the number of flights in that area, the Bermuda Triangle is one of the safest spots in the world. It is a popular area with pilots.
11. An Avenger aircraft will sink into the ocean roughly forty-five seconds after splashing down.
12. Two of the men who were in the radio tower in Fort Lauderdale at the time of Training Flight 19 do not recall the Avenger pilots saying "Which way is west?" or "upside down" or "white water." These two men say the planes were definitely lost.
13. Commander Taylor of Training Flight 19 radioed, "If we fly north, then east, we'll get home." He also mentioned being over the Keys (islands). He may have thought he was over the Florida Keys, when actually he was over the Grand Keys in the Atlantic. His proposed course of "north, then east" would have taken the planes toward the middle of the Atlantic.
14. At the time that radio contact was lost with the plane sent to search for Training Flight 19, people on the coast saw what looked like an explosion near the search plane's last-reported location.
15. Out of 10,000 distress calls made to the Coast Guard in that area, about 100 ships are lost in the Bermuda Triangle each year.
16. According to the Coast Guard, many pleasure boat owners don't know what they're doing in the ocean. For example, when the Coast Guard told one owner to plot a course toward an island, the owner said he couldn't find it on his map. The Coast Guard asked him what map he was using, and he said he was looking at the world atlas.
17. Each author who writes about the Bermuda Triangle describes a triangle of a different size and shape from the other authors.
18. The author of this Bermuda Triangle article writes books on popular subjects, such as mysterious and bizarre phenomena.

WORKSHEET B Evaluating Evidence

Background

You, as a historian, are trying to decide who stabbed John Jones in 1940 in the corridor at your school. You have gathered the following information (evidence) about the case.

Relevant Information

A. The report on the police investigation into the death of John Jones says:
   1. The police concluded that he was murdered by stab wounds.
   2. The police had three suspects: 1) Kid Kelly, 2) Slim Stowell, and 3) Lucky Levin. All three were in the corridor within ten feet of Jones when he was murdered.
   3. Police thought they had enough evidence to prosecute Lucky Levin.

B. Lucky Levin was tried for the alleged murder of John Jones. In the trial:
   4. Lucky's girlfriend said he was a good person and would never kill anyone.
   5. A teacher testified he opened the door of his room and entered the corridor as soon as he heard John Jones scream. No one could have moved, and no one was moving when he looked into the corridor. Jones was lying on the floor while Lucky, Kid, and Slim were standing within ten feet, looking at him. Lucky was closest to Jones.
   6. Kid testified that he didn't do it, but he was looking the other way so he doesn't know whether Lucky or Slim did it.
   7. Slim testified that he didn't do it, Lucky did it.
   8. Lucky testified that he didn't do it, Slim did it.
   9. Witness A, who didn't know any of the men, said he heard Jones say, "No, Lucky, no" right before the murder.
   10. Witness B, who was 35 feet away and who didn't know any of the men, said he saw Lucky stab Jones.
   11. The knife was shown to have Lucky's, and only Lucky's, fingerprints on it.
   12. According to Kid, both Lucky and Slim had knives with them on the day of the death.
   13. The police found a knife on Slim at the scene of the murder, as well as the knife in Jones. No other weapons were found.
   14. An IOU note produced at the trial showed that Jones owed Lucky $300, which had been due to be paid three days before the murder.
   15. Witness C testified that Slim did not like Jones.
   16. Witness D, 50 feet away, testified that she saw Lucky stab Jones.
   17. Witness E, in another part of the building and not within sight of the murder scene, says he's sure Lucky killed Jones.
   18. At the trial, a letter from Lucky's girlfriend to her mother was introduced as evidence. The letter said that Lucky hated John Jones.

C. The jury found Lucky guilty of murder.

Evaluate the Evidence

Q As a historian, do you think the jury was right in its verdict? Why do you think so?

Q Give one example from the Relevant Information section on page 33 for each type of evidence listed below. Write the number of the evidence on the line provided.

_____A. Statements by witnesses
_____B. Documents (written information)
_____C. Objects

Q Evaluate (judge) the following evidence selected from the Relevant Information. Use the **PROP** factors (criteria) from the section on **Evidence** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (pp. 2–4).

Factor #	4	7	10	11	14	17	18
P							
R							
O							
P							

Q Compare the reliability of evidence 4 and evidence 18. Which is more reliable? Explain your answer.

WORKSHEET C Sources and Evidence

Whenever you see information used in support of an argument you should ask certain questions, the first and most important being, "Does the information have a source given?"

A *source* is the person, place, or written document the information came from. If there is no given source, the information cannot be evaluated and should not be accepted as reliable.

If the information does give a source, you can evaluate its reliability by asking a number of questions, four of which are given here. For further help, see the section on **Evidence** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking."

Criteria for Evaluating Evidence

P	Is it a **primary** (more reliable) or secondary (less reliable) source?
R	Does the person giving the evidence have any **reason to lie** (less reliable)?
O	Is there **other evidence** which supports or verifies what this evidence says (more reliable) or is this the only evidence presented on the topic (less reliable)?
P	Is it a public (less reliable) or **private** (more reliable) statement? It is public if the person giving it knew other people would read or see it.

Q Evaluate each of the following arguments using the above questions.

1. The city government under Mayor Elwell was very corrupt. Over $15 million was stolen in only five years.

   Is there a source given for any information in this argument? _____
   If not, the claim of corruption is not well supported by evidence.
   If yes, evaluate the evidence and explain your evaluation.

   P

   R

   O

   P

2. **Kurt is a great hitter. The statistics from last season's scorebook show he hit .457, a very high average.**

   Is there a source given for any information in this argument? _____
   If not, the argument is not well supported. If yes, evaluate it.

   P

   R

   O

   P

3. **The city government under Mayor Pratt was very corrupt. Three city workers stated in public hearings that they each had seen money paid to city officials for special favors.**

   Is there a source given for any information in this argument? _____
   If not, the argument is not well supported. If yes, evaluate it.

   P

   R

   O

   P

4. Kelley is a great hitter. She can hit the fast ball and the curve.

   Is there a source given for any information in this argument? _____
   If not, the argument is not well supported. If yes, evaluate it.

   P

   R

   O

   P

WORKSHEET D Evaluating Evidence — PROP

You will recall that the first question you should ask about information (evidence) is whether or not a source is given. Each argument on this worksheet names the source, or the person who said it. For further explanation see the section on **Evidence** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking."

Criteria for Evaluating Evidence

P	Is it a **primary** (more reliable) or secondary (less reliable) source?
R	Does the person giving the evidence have any **reason to lie** (less reliable)?
O	Is there **other evidence** which supports or verifies what this evidence says (more reliable) or is this the only evidence presented on the topic (less reliable)?
P	Is it a public (less reliable) or **private** (more reliable) statement? It is public if the person giving it knew other people would read or see it.

Q Evaluate each of the following situations according to the four criteria given below.

1. Yu-chi tells his father it was not his fault that he got detention. He said that the teacher thought he was talking during class, but he wasn't.

   Evaluate Yu-chi's evidence according to the four criteria.

   P

   R

   O

   P

   Overall, how reliable is Yu-chi's evidence?

2. Bob is angry because he thinks his girlfriend, Jill, went out with Larry on Friday. Laura, Connie, and Ellen all told Bob that they had talked with Jill on the phone most of the night on Friday while she was baby-sitting, so she couldn't have gone out with Larry.

   Evaluate Laura's evidence according to the four criteria.

   P

   R

   O

   P

   Overall, how reliable is Laura's evidence?

3. Christie tells her parents she failed English because she didn't study. She says she has no one to blame but herself and has to admit she deserves to be grounded.

   Evaluate Christie's evidence about why she failed.

   P

   R

   O

   P

   Overall, how reliable is Christie's evidence?

WORKSHEET E Cause-and-Effect Reasoning

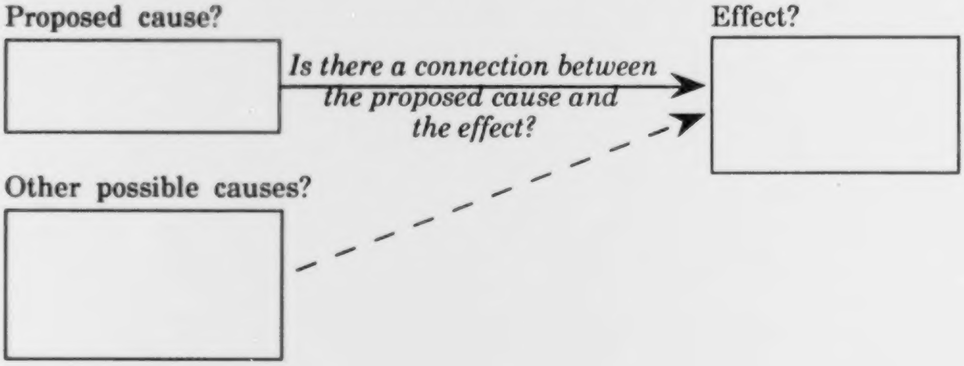
When someone proposes a cause for some situation or event, he or she is using cause-and-effect reasoning. Following these steps will help you evaluate such arguments.

EVALUATING CAUSE-AND-EFFECT REASONING

1. Decide which is the cause and which is the effect.
2. See if the person explains how the cause led to the effect. If the person doesn't explain, we should ask if there is a reasonable connection between the cause and the effect.
3. Ask if there are other possible causes for this effect. Has this person eliminated these other possible causes?

Using a diagram like the one shown after the first problem will help you follow these steps when evaluating cause-and-effect reasoning. Draw your own diagrams for the other problems.

1. The repairman says that Mark's lawn mower won't start because of a problem with the choke, which will cost $25.00 to fix.


Proposed cause?
Effect?
Is there a connection between the proposed cause and the effect?
Other possible causes?

Overall, how strong is the repairman's cause-and-effect reasoning?

2. Mr. Alberti insulated his house before this winter started. The average temperature this winter has been about the same as last winter, and Mr. Alberti has kept the thermostat at the same settings both winters. So far, he has used 40% fewer gallons of oil than he had at this time last winter. He thinks the insulation has been very effective in saving heating oil.

   Analyze Mr. Alberti's cause-and-effect thinking. Use a diagram.

   Overall, how strong is the argument?

3. Low-income people tend to vote less frequently than high-income people because poorer people are so busy trying to survive that they don't take time to vote.

   Draw a diagram and analyze this thinking.

   Overall, how strong is the argument?

WORKSHEET F Comparison Arguments

Introductory Problem

Suppose you drove in an autocross race at the North Shore Shopping Center parking lot a month ago. ("Autocross" is a race over a winding course set up with cone markers. Cars race one at a time and are clocked as they run the course.) You drove your 1952 Plymouth, and your time was 36.8 seconds. Now, suppose Harry told you that last Sunday he was in an autocross and his time was 28.2 seconds. He says this proves he is a better driver than you are.

Write three questions that you would want to ask Harry.

1.

2.

3.

Evaluating Comparison Arguments

A comparison argument reasons that since two cases are similar in some respects they will also be similar in another way. You can tell from the questions you wrote above that the key to deciding the strength of a comparison argument is asking, "How are the two cases different?" Refer to the section on **Comparison Reasoning** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (Unit 1) if you need more help.

Q Using the given questions, evaluate each of the following comparison arguments.

1. You are baking a cake and the recipe calls for 5 teaspoons of butter. You have no butter, so you reason that if you substitute 5 teaspoons of margarine the cake will still turn out fine.
   a. What two items are being compared?

   b. How are they different?

   c. How are they alike?

   d. Overall, how strong is this comparison argument?

2. The average score on the state-wide test was 12 points higher at Centralville High than it was at Evantown High. It is clear from these scores that the teachers at Centralville are doing a better job of teaching.
    a. What two items are being compared?
    b. How are they different?
    c. How are they alike?
    d. Overall, how strong is this comparison argument?

3. Candice paid $50 more to get the deluxe model when she bought her radio. She thinks the money was well spent because the radio gets all the stations she likes and the sound is very clear.
    a. What two items are being compared?
    b. How are they different?
    c. How are they alike?
    d. Overall, how strong is this comparison argument?

WORKSHEET G Understanding Comparisons

For help, refer to the section about **Comparisons** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking."

Identifying Comparisons

Q Put a "C" on the line in front of each of the following arguments or claims that use comparison reasoning.

______ 1. Jean felt the suede jacket was worth the extra money.

______ 2. Benji has been a great dog. He's very obedient and he doesn't bark much.

______ 3. Fred used his new equipment the last time he climbed.

______ 4. I decided to read *A Tale of Two Cities* because, although it is long, it is an excellent story.

______ 5. You should buy alkaline batteries; they last longer than regular ones.

______ 6. Tom and Pat helped us out a lot when we had to fix the house. They are good neighbors.

_____ 7. Tomika hit the other car when she backed up in the parking lot.

Categorizing Comparisons

Q Mark each of the following arguments. Put an **S** in front of arguments which claim that the two cases are basically similar. Put a **D** in front of arguments which claim that the two cases are basically different. Remember, better/worse comparisons emphasize differences.

______ 8. You gave Mari $5.00 for her work, so you should give me $5.00 for my work, too.

______ 9. Since our team has won more games this year than last, we must have improved.

_____ 10. Rachel is the right player to guard their scorer. Julie just isn't as good on defense.

_____ 11. The new deluxe sedan costs a little more but it's well worth it. It has cruise control and an engine.

_____ 12. I beat George at chess last time, so I'm sure I will again.

_____ 13. Jim has never charged us more than $50.00 for a repair in the past, so he surely won't charge us too much this time.

_____ 14. I'm sticking with Toni because she's a better computer programmer than Geoffrey is.

Analyzing and Evaluating Comparisons

Q Each of the following problems presents a comparison argument for you to analyze and evaluate. The **Example** is done for you.

Example:

"I jumped 5'6" in the last meet, so I should jump at least 5'6" today.

a. What are the two cases or characteristics being compared?

Case A: [the speaker's jumping ability at the last meet]

Case B: [the speaker's jumping ability today]

b. Is this an alike or different comparison?

[Alike]

c. What similarities or differences are there between the two cases?

[Similarities: same goal in same event]

[Differences: the jumper's health or condition may be different today; weather, jumping conditions, or training time may differ]

d. How strong is the comparison?

[It's reasonable, but it should take into account the possible differences. For example, if the jumper claimed to be in better condition now and the weather is favorable, then the conclusion would be stronger.]

15. "My best friend, John, liked the movie, so I bet I'll like it too."

a. What are the two cases or characteristics being compared? Be precise!

Case A:

Case B:

b. Is this an alike or different comparison?

c. What similarities or differences are there between the two cases?

d. How strong is the comparison?

16. "The Wranglers have a better team than the Panthers. The Wranglers have more wins and fewer losses."

a. What are the two cases or characteristics being compared?

Case A:

Case B:

b. Is this an alike or different comparison?

c. What similarities or differences are there between the two cases?

d. How strong is the comparison?

17. Carrie decided that the state university is just as good as the private college in her area. The campus and the professors at the state university are as good as those at the private college.
   a. What are the two cases or characteristics being compared?
      Case A:

      Case B:

   b. Is this an alike or different comparison?

   c. What similarities or differences are there between the two cases?

   d. How strong is the comparison?

18. Roger decides that the extra money he spends to attend the private college is well worth it. The soccer team is excellent at the private college, as are the professors.
   a. What are the two cases or characteristics being compared?
      Case A:

      Case B:

   b. Is this an alike or different comparison?

   c. What similarities or differences are there between the two cases?

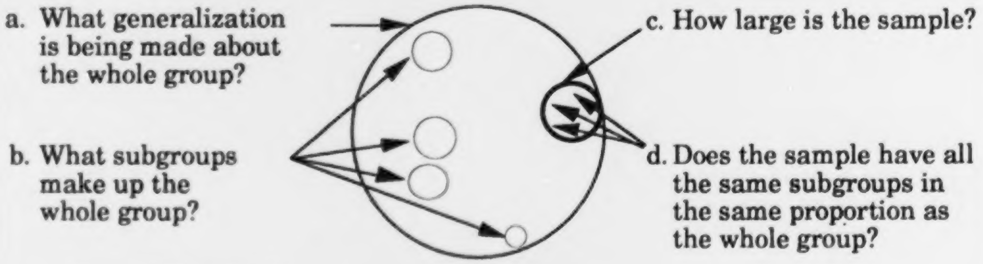
   d. How strong is the comparison?

WORKSHEET H Evaluating Generalizations (Samples)

If you need help, refer to the definition and examples of **Generalization** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking." Remember that a circle diagram is useful to help visualize generalizations as an analysis aid. An example is done for you.

Example:

"Most American adults would like to own their own homes. Just last month a survey of 1232 students at five hundred colleges around the country showed that 62% of those students who responded want to own their own home."


a. What generalization is being made about the whole group?
b. What subgroups make up the whole group?
c. How large is the sample?
d. Does the sample have all the same subgroups in the same proportion as the whole group?

a. Generalization?
[Most American adults want to own homes.]

b. Subgroups of whole group?
[Subgroups include men and women and various geographic regions, ages, incomes, and levels of education.]

c. Size of sample?
[The sample is rather small, compared to the number of people in the whole group, so representativeness will be important.]

d. Representativeness of sample?
[The sample includes men and women (probably) from different geographic regions, but is not representative in any other way. The sample consists of people who are young, have a relatively high level of income, and have a uniformly high level of education.]

e. Overall, how strong is the generalization?
[This is a very weak sample; therefore, it is not a good generalization.]

Q Evaluate the following generalizations. Draw a circle graph and use the given questions to help with your evaluation.

1. "Most students in this high school [800 students] watch more than twelve hours of television a week. We took a poll in my social studies class, and twenty out of the thirty students said they watch more than twelve hours a week." [This school has honors, average, and remedial classes.]

a. Generalization?

b. Subgroups of whole group?

c. Size of sample?

d. Representativeness of sample?

e. Strength of generalization?

2. "I wouldn't hire an Italian if I were you. They all belong to the Mafia. Pretty soon you'll start having problems."
   a. Generalization?

   b. Subgroups of whole group?

   c. Size of sample?

   d. Representativeness of sample?

   e. Strength of generalization?

3. "The 1980 census [a survey of every household in the country] showed that the population of Mudville rose dramatically during the 1970s."
   a. Generalization?

   b. Subgroups of whole group?

   c. Size of sample?

   d. Representativeness of sample?

   e. Strength of generalization?

Q Write the letter of the most reasonable generalization on the line in front of each item. Explain your choice in the space provided.

_______4. Suppose you found that in your public, suburban high school, those students who do more homework also get better grades. Which of the following is the best generalization to make from this information?

A. In your state, students who do more homework get better grades.
B. In your school district, students who do more homework get better grades.
C. In public, suburban high schools in the United States, students who do more homework get better grades.
D. Students who do more homework get better grades.

Explain your choice.

_______5. Suppose you knew that Switzerland, which is a small, mountainous country, has used a strong defense (large military) to successfully avoid war. Which of the following is the best generalization to make from this information?

A. A large military is the key to avoiding war.
B. Small countries can use a strong defense to avoid war.
C. Large countries can use a strong defense to avoid war.
D. Mountainous countries can avoid war through building a strong defense.

Explain your choice.

_______6. You know that 75% of the kids in your ninth-grade homeroom like rock music best. Which of the following is the best generalization to make from this information?

A. Most ninth-graders in your school like rock music best.
B. Anywhere you go in the country, you'll find that most teenagers like rock music best.
C. All ninth-grade students like rock music best.
D. Few ninth-grade students in your school like classical music.

Explain your choice.

WORKSHEET I Identifying Unstated Assumptions — 1

What are the unstated assumptions in each of the following arguments? If you need help, look at the section on **Assumptions** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking."

1. "Why can't you study like your brother? He gets all A's in school."

2. "Beth is older than Peter, so she must be older than Marie also."

3. "Even if I have a head start running to the beach, you'll get there first."

4. "Are you sure you want to apply for that job? It requires someone with good writing skills."

5. "When I get my raise, I'm going to buy a new car."

6. "Jim, why don't you come drinking with us? You've got to learn to relax and enjoy life."

WORKSHEET J Identifying Unstated Assumptions — 2

This four-step approach is one method for identifying unstated assumptions.

Step 1	**Write out the premise. (The premise is the part of an argument that tells "why" something is true. Look for the place to put "because." What follows is the premise.)**
Step 2	**Find and write out the conclusion of the argument. (Look for the place to put "therefore." What follows it is the conclusion.)**
Step 3	**Find the unique part of the conclusion (the part that doesn't appear in the premise) and the unique part of the premise (the part that doesn't appear in the conclusion.)**
Step 4	**Combine the two unique parts in a sentence that starts with a general word, such as people, wars, or countries. This sentence is the unstated assumption.**

Q Try the four-step approach on the following claims. If you need help, look at the section on **Assumptions** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking." The first one is done for you as an example.

1. "Roger is not a football player since he weighs only 130 pounds."
    Step 1: "Because" he weighs only 130 pounds. (Premise)
    Step 2: "Therefore" Roger is not a football player. (Conclusion)
    Step 3: ...weighs only 130 pounds (P)/...not a football player (C)
    Step 4: "People" who weigh only 130 pounds are not football players.

2. Fred is definitely a good mechanic. He works for the service station on Main Street which is known for its fine mechanical work.
    Step 1:
    Step 2:
    Step 3:
    Step 4:

3. Sequoia is in the band and Leona isn't, so Sequoia must be a better musician.
    Step 1:
    Step 2:
    Step 3:
    Step 4:

WORKSHEET K Analyzing Historical Films

When watching a film or video interpretation of any event, consider using the following (**PIPER**) model of analysis.

P	Point of View?
I	Inferences?
P	Persuasive Techniques?
E	Evidence?
R	Relevant Information?

Use this worksheet to help you analyze historical films you watch.

1. Name of film:

2. Main point of the film:

3. **P** What is the **point of view** of the film? Was it overly favorable or critical of a particular group or individual?

4. **I** What **inferences** were made in the film? Were there parts of the film that the filmmakers must have made up because they couldn't have known this from the available evidence?

5. **P** What techniques are used in the film to **persuade** the audience to the filmmaker's point of view? Note camera angle, music, character portrayal, etc.

6. **E** What **evidence** is included to support the point of view put forth in the film? What is the source of that evidence? How strong is it?

7. **R** What **relevant information** do I know? Does it contradict or support the story presented in the film?

8. Overall, how strong are the historical arguments in this film? Is it historically accurate?

WORKSHEET L Analyzing Historical Interpretations

Lesson ______ Interpretation ______

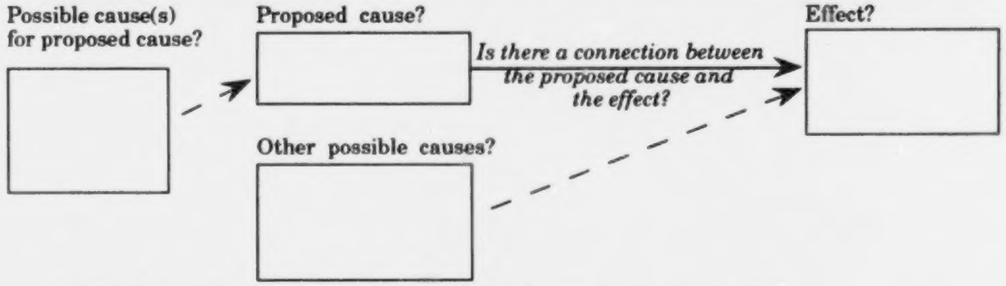
Q Answer the following questions on each interpretation.

1. What is the main idea of this interpretation?

2. List two or three key points the author(s) use(s) to support the main idea, write any evidence given to support the point, and evaluate the evidence according to the **PROP** questions.

Key Point	*Evidence that supports the point*	*Evaluation of Evidence*
1		
2		

3. Identify and analyze one cause-and-effect argument the interpretation makes. Fill in the cause and the effect first, then complete the diagram.


Possible cause(s) for proposed cause?
Proposed cause?
Is there a connection between the proposed cause and the effect?
Effect?
Other possible causes?

Overall, how strong is this cause-and-effect reasoning?

4. Analyze any other aspect of the argument presented in the interpretation. For example, evaluate a generalization, comparison, or proof argument; identify an unstated assumption; note vague or emotional words that need to be defined more clearly by the author.

5. If **Relevant Information** is provided, does any of the given information affect this interpretation? If so, identify the specific information by number(s) and state the effect(s) of each on the interpretation.

6. What is your overall judgment of the interpretation? Identify its strengths and weaknesses.

UNIT 2
UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER

Lesson 1: Identifying and Evaluating Sources

Objectives

To identify sources
To evaluate evidence

Teaching Ideas

This is a basic lesson on identifying when a claim has a source and on evaluating sources. Since the evaluation section is already broken down into subsections (Primary Source, Reason to Lie) this is a relatively easy lesson. If you feel your students do not need so much structure, you could use more challenging lessons on evaluating evidence, such as Lessons 5 and 10, rather than this lesson.

Have the students answer the questions for homework. Then have them compare their answers in pairs or groups of three and finally discuss their answers as a class.

Point out that having a reason to lie does not mean that people are lying. It just means that we cannot rely too much on what they say.

Suggested Answers

IDENTIFYING SOURCES

1. S Megan and Pedro are the sources.
2. S The report cards are the sources.
3. N
4. N
5. S Albert Beveridge is the source.
6. N

PRIMARY SOURCES

7. S Bob apparently has not seen the new student play.
8. S Rachel has not seen the movie.
9. S The publication date, at least 63 years after the event, indicates that La Feber was not there at the time.
10. P McKinley is reporting on himself. He is always present with himself.
11. P Wilson—same as #10
12. S The publication date makes it unlikely that Bailey was present to observe the events of 1914 and 1915.

REASON TO LIE

13. N Linda is not protecting herself when she confesses.

REASON TO LIE

14. N The pipe cannot lie, it is not alive.

15. N Bryan may have some other reason for opposing imperialism but it is very hard to think of one.

16. R Wilson has reason to say we are fighting for noble purposes. He is unlikely to say, for example, we are fighting to make money or protect loans.

17. N Since the Germans are communicating secretly, they have no reason to lie. This note was intercepted and became public, which very much hurt the Germans.

18. N It is hard to think of a reason why a historian would consciously lie, although historians, like everyone else, are susceptible to biases.

Lesson 2: Evaluating Evidence

Objectives

To evaluate evidence

Teaching Ideas

This is a more advanced lesson on evaluating evidence than Lesson 1. In this lesson, students must remember the criteria (PROP) in order to evaluate the sources effectively. You might want to do the first problem as a class, have students do the rest of the problems in groups of three, then discuss these problems as a class.

Suggested Answers

Evaluate the Sources

1. [secret cable—Roosevelt to Dewey]

   Strengths
   - It is private (P) so there seems to be no reason to lie (R). Roosevelt is a primary (P) source.

   Weaknesses
   - There is no other (O) evidence showing an interest in the Philippines as a motive for war with Spain. How do we know that any other American leaders wanted the Philippines?

   Summary
   - Overall, this is strong evidence, but evidence is needed to show that other leaders also had an interest in the Philippines.

2. [John Blum]

   Strengths
   - There does not seem to be a reason to lie (R).

   Weaknesses
   - There is no other (O) supporting evidence and it is not a primary source (P).

   Summary
   - Overall, this is weak evidence because it is a secondary source.

3. [secret note—Lansing to Wilson]

   Strengths
   - It is private (P); Lansing has no reason to lie (R); and it is a primary source (P).

   Weaknesses
   - There is no other (O) evidence that economic interests pushed the United States to enter World War I.

   Summary
   - Overall, this is strong evidence but more is needed.

Choose the Most Reliable Evidence

4. D is probably strongest because it is primary (P) and private (P) so Wilson had no obvious reason to lie (R). A is public, B is not by the decision-maker himself, and C does not give reasons for the decision to enter World War I.
5. B is probably strongest because it is primary (P) and private (P). A is public; C and D are secondary sources in terms of the actual decision.

Lesson 3: Determining Causes and Effects

Objectives

To identify cause-and-effect reasoning

Teaching Ideas

Have students do problem 1 and discuss it as a class. Then have them do problems 2–6 and compare answers in small groups. Students can continue by answering the second half of the lesson (problems 7–9) and comparing answers in their groups. All the problems can then be discussed as a class.

The point of the second half of the lesson is to get students to begin generating their own list of causes before accepting other people's proposed causes as the only possible ones.

Suggested Answers

LABEL EACH ITEM

1. C CAUSE: sea power
   EFFECT: nations are great
2. C CAUSE: wanted to make Hawaii part of the United States
   EFFECT: overthrew the Queen
3. N No cause for why he wanted these things is proposed.
4. C CAUSE: war
   EFFECT: cost $250 million
5. N No causes or effects are mentioned.
6. N No causes or effects are proposed.

THINK OF AS MANY CAUSES AS YOU CAN

7. Attractiveness

   Students should recognize a number of reasons for attractiveness other than jeans, such as, personality, cleanliness, shape, hair, and so forth.

8. Negotiated settlement

   Students should note other reasons for negotiating a settlement, such as raising the leader's prestige in the world or at home, belief in peace, increased trade, and so forth.

9. Defender's advantage

   It is interesting to see what students suggest. A focus is certainly on technology, so the machine gun is probably a big factor.

Lesson 4: Assessing Cause-and-Effect Reasoning

Objectives

To assess cause-and-effect reasoning

Teaching Ideas

Make sure that students understand the factual aspects leading up to the Spanish-American War before they read the historians' viewpoints. It is easy to confuse the revolt in Cuba with the war itself. Also, if students have read about the yellow press before this lesson, they are much more likely to understand what they read here.

Have students answer the questions in writing and then compare answers in small groups and discuss as a class.

Suggested Answers
Connection

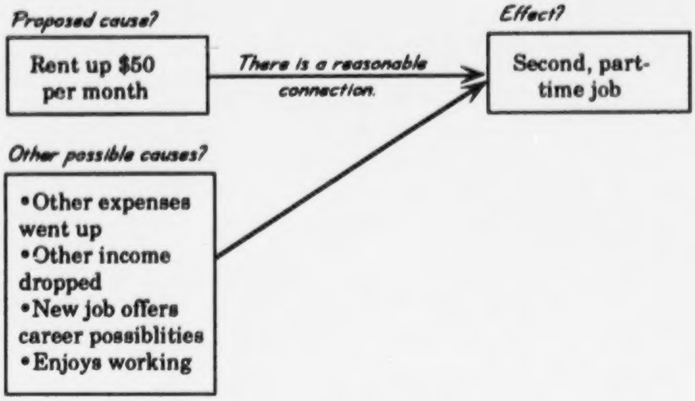
1. Which argument is strongest?

   Based on the criterion of connecting the yellow press (the proposed cause) to the decision for war (the effect), the best answer is B. This argument shows that the papers may have distorted the situation in Cuba, that the papers influenced millions of Americans, and that this public opinion, since an election was in progress, influenced American leaders. This is the only argument which shows why the leaders (decision makers) would have been influenced by public opinion. This argument is certainly not strong, since it lacks evidence for two of its premises, and since the evidence it does present is suspect. (Hearst might have exaggerated his role in shaping events to make himself look good.) But B's argument is nevertheless stronger than the other two.

   Historian A gives a good explanation for why newspapers competed, but fails to explain the number of people that were influenced, or to show how public opinion influenced the decision makers. Historian C gives evidence of alleged newspaper exaggerations, but again does not connect the exaggerations to the decision for war.

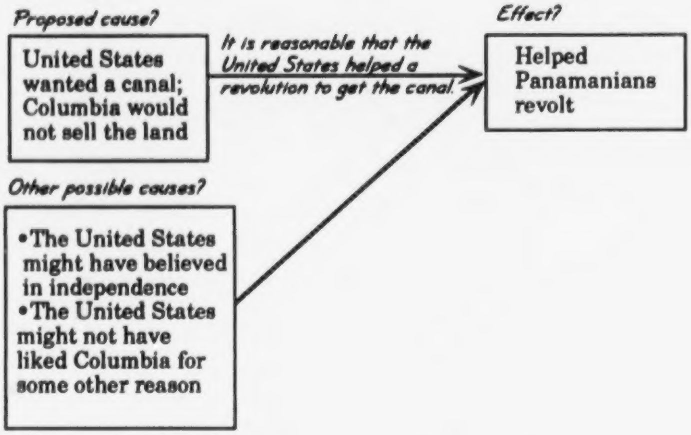
EVALUATING CAUSE AND EFFECT

2. Second, part-time job


Proposed cause?
Rent up $50 per month
There is a reasonable connection.
Effect?
Second, part-time job
Other possible causes?
•Other expenses went up
•Other income dropped
•New job offers career possiblities
•Enjoys working

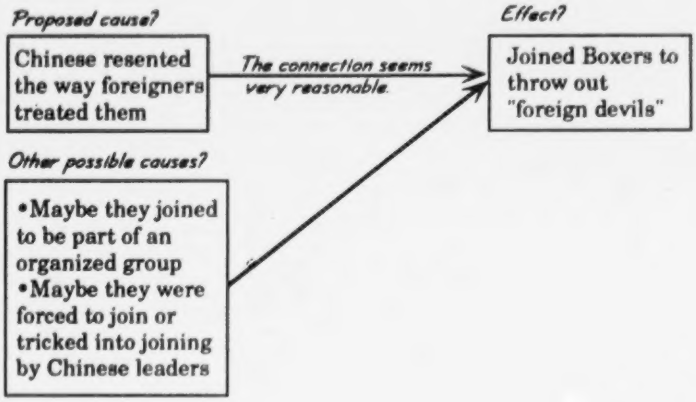
Overall, this argument is reasonable, but there are a number of other possible reasons that she got a second job.

3. Panama Canal


Proposed cause?
United States wanted a canal; Columbia would not sell the land
It is reasonable that the United States helped a revolution to get the canal.
Effect?
Helped Panamanians revolt
Other possible causes?
•The United States might have believed in independence
•The United States might not have liked Columbia for some other reason

Overall, this argument seems fairly strong in terms of cause-and-effect reasoning. If we did help the revolutionists right after Colombia refused to agree to the canal, then the connection seems quite likely. It is difficult to think of another cause that is as likely. The argument needs evidence to support its premises.

4. Boxer Rebellion



Proposed cause?

Chinese resented the way foreigners treated them

The connection seems very reasonable.

Effect?

Joined Boxers to throw out "foreign devils"

Other possible causes?

- Maybe they joined to be part of an organized group
- Maybe they were forced to join or tricked into joining by Chinese leaders

Overall, this argument appears strong in terms of cause-and-effect reasoning. It seems very logical that people who join an anti-foreigner group probably resent foreigners. Undoubtedly, some people joined for other reasons, but most of them probably joined because of resentment.

Lesson 5: Analyzing Generalizations

Objectives

To identify generalizations
To evaluate generalizations

Teaching Ideas

Students can write their answers for the section on identifying generalizations and you can discuss them quickly as a class. The section on evaluating generalizations is more difficult. It might be best to do problem 6 as a class and then have students do the rest of the problems. It is important to stress that the students should consider the subgroups of the whole population.

Suggested Answers

IDENTIFYING GENERALIZATIONS

1. N
2. G The cue words "not any" are the negative way of saying "All of the males are not cheerleaders."
3. G "Everyone" is the cue word.
4. G "Most" is the cue word.
5. N

EVALUATING GENERALIZATIONS

6. Dress shirt and tie to school

   This is most likely an informal survey, based on observation rather than statistical sampling. How does the person know, without a survey, that all the boys wearing dress shirts and ties are on athletic teams?

7. Judge popularity

   This survey raises the question of randomness as a method of achieving representativeness. Some social scientists believe randomness is the best method for achieving representativeness in sampling, better than any conscious method. We would have to know more about the survey to evaluate it: the region, male-female makeup, income breakdown, etc. It seems reasonable to conclude from the survey, however, that Judge Wapner is more well known than Judge Rehnquist.

8. American opposition to expansion

   This is a summary of a point made in a high school history textbook. It is difficult to evaluate it without knowing what kind of evidence indicates many Americans were saddened. Was a survey done at the time? Is it based on protests? Letters to the editor? The argument is also hard to pin down because of the elusive word "many." How many is many?

9. 1916 election

   The popular vote statistics are rounded off, but otherwise this is a very accurate statement about the voters since all the votes are counted. The sample takes in the whole population (everyone who voted).

Lesson 6: Why Did President McKinley Ask for a Declaration of War against Spain in April 1898?

Objectives

To find the main idea
To recognize unstated assumptions
To assess cause and effect
To evaluate generalizations
To evaluate proof reasoning
To evaluate comparisons
To evaluate evidence

Teaching Ideas

It is probably best to have students read about the causes of the Spanish-American War before they start this lesson. Ask students what the causes of the Spanish-American War were and list them on the board. Then ask the class what role President McKinley played in the declaration of war. Tell them that McKinley's role is the focus of this lesson.

There are a number of options for using the viewpoints. First, you could have the students read both viewpoints, fill in the worksheet, and then discuss their answers as a class. Second, you could have the class debate why McKinley asked for a declaration of war, based on the viewpoints and outside research. Third, you could have the students evaluate the viewpoints according to the ARMEAR model in the "Guide to Critical Thinking," p. 18. Fourth, you could have the students read the viewpoints without the worksheet and the class could discuss which argument is stronger and why.

You could help students by demonstrating 3a and 7a for them. Once they see how you do it, they will more likely be able to fill in the rest of the items. You can adapt the lesson for less able students by having students fill in only questions 1, 4, 5, 8, and 9 from the worksheet.

Suggested Answers
Historian A

1. C
2. Unstated assumption in paragraph 2 (one possible answer):

   The expansionists were important advisers to President McKinley—they really influenced the President.

HISTORIAN A

3. Reasoning

	Type of Reasoning	Key Question	How Well Answered
a.	Primarily Cause and Effect	Is the connection between the cause and the effect shown?	The author does explain that Cuba was dependent upon sugar exports, so some connection is shown.
b.	Cause and Effect	Is the connection shown?	The connection of the yellow press to public opinion in general is not shown, and the connection of public opinion to McKinley's decision for war is weak (endnote 8 is a statement by Lodge—a jingoist—not McKinley).
c.	Sample	Is the sample large or representative enough?	These were New York City newspapers. Did they affect public opinion all over the country? Some historians have argued that they did. This historian needs to deal with the question.
d.	Proof	Does the evidence or argument prove the point?	The evidence is weak, since it is from Lodge, not McKinley. We have *no evidence* that McKinley worried about the fall elections.
e.	Comparison (also Generalization)	Are the two cases sufficiently similar to prove the conclusion?	It may be that Spanish actions were worse than in other cases. Still the analogy sheds some light on the situation.

4. Evidence

a. At first glance, it looks like Hearst would have no reason to distort, since he is admitting dishonesty in his reporting of the Cuban Revolution. On the other hand, Hearst may have been exaggerating his role in bringing about a war which he felt was right.

b. This is strong evidence that de Lôme meant what he said, since he had no obvious reason to distort in a private letter, and the letter made de Lôme look bad. What this evidence shows about the causes of the Spanish-American War is more difficult to decide, however, since it depends upon McKinley's reaction to the de Lôme letter and many other factors.

HISTORIAN B

5. Main point

William McKinley decided on war in 1898 because of Spanish policies regarding Cuba, not because of the yellow press or jingoists.

6. Unstated assumption (Possible answers)

—Leaders are justified in resolving difficulties by war in order to prevent their countries from looking weak.
—Leaders will resort to war to prevent their countries from looking weak.

7. Reasoning

	Type of Reasoning	Key Question	How Well Answered
a.	Debating or Proof	Debating—Does this argument attack the other viewpoint in a fair way?	If the second sentence is correct, this is a very strong argument. This sentence is based, however, on a secondary source (endnote 1) which is not directly related to this topic. (It seems to be talking more about domestic party politics.)
b.	Proof	Does the evidence prove the point?	There is no evidence from McKinley that he felt the difficulties in Cuba were hurting the United States ability to deal with Germany.
c.	Proof (eliminates the *Maine* as an alternative)	Does the argument prove the point?	This argument does not disprove that destruction of the *Maine* was an important cause of the war. There are several possible reasons why the United States waited two months before responding. (For example, McKinley may have been waiting to see if public opinion would die down.) Also there is a probable straw man fallacy (p. 14, "Guide") here, since the other historians say that the *Maine* was one important cause, but not *the* cause.

GENERAL QUESTIONS

8. Opinion

On paper, Spain seems to have agreed to United States demands. The point on Cuban independence is more difficult to decide. In light of the relevant information, Historian B's argument that the United States demands implied Cuban independence is overstated. On the other hand, the Spanish did clearly say to Secretary of State Day that they would not grant Cuban independence.

9. A

This cartoon emphasizes Spanish brutality and the role of the American press in causing the war. So it tends to support Historian A's viewpoint.

Lesson 7: Why Was the United States Imperialistic from 1890 to 1929?

Objectives

To assess cause and effect
To evaluate generalizations
To evaluate evidence
To evaluate comparisons

Teaching Ideas

This is a difficult lesson as it deals with complex abstract concepts and theories. The introduction explains some of the concepts, but the arguments and theories remain difficult.

You can use the worksheet on the viewpoints or you can have students write out an evaluation of both viewpoints according to the ARMEAR model (p. 18, "Guide to Critical Thinking"). Alternatively, you can have students evaluate the evidence and reasoning in each argument and decide which viewpoint is strongest and why.

You could have the students discuss their evaluations of the two viewpoints in small groups and then discuss them as a class. Or you could have students defend a point of view in a debate and have them research the point of view they are defending.

Evaluations of the two viewpoints will vary greatly from student to student. Students who are experienced at evaluating arguments will raise some significant questions about these viewpoints.

Below are suggested answers for the worksheet followed by a possible analysis with some points that could be raised for discussion.

Suggested Answers

HISTORIAN A

1. Main idea of Historian A—United States imperialism from 1890 to 1929 was caused primarily by declining profits in American businesses. Businesses searched desperately for new markets.

2. Evidence

   a. Endnote 2—Conant is a primary source who has no reason to lie. There is no supporting evidence, however. Also, one person is not a large enough sample to make a generalization about all businessmen.

   b. Endnote 3—This book is a secondary source. Julien has no apparent reason to lie, but in fact he writes consistently from the Marxist perspective which makes his views slanted by his preconceptions. An interesting question is "Are his views any more biased than non-Marxists?"

3. Evaluate the argument

   a. Paragraph 4—This is a cause and effect argument. The connection between the businessmen seems reasonable, but in fact this historian does not show if the businessmen actually had any influence with McKinley. Thus the direct connection is not shown.

   b. Paragraph 5—There is no evidence to support this argument. It is a cause-and-effect argument. There is a connection between wasting resources and poverty, but there are many other causes for poverty. Also, the foreign companies may actually have increased the standard of living. We really do not know without evidence.

HISTORIAN B

4. Main idea of Historian B—United States imperialism was not due to pressure by American businessmen. You might want to discuss with students the idea of a negative main idea. Are historians who attempt to show the weakness of another theory obligated to replace that theory with their own?

5. Evaluate the evidence

   a. Endnote 1—This is a secondary source which makes it weak. We would like to see primary sources.

   b. Endnote 2—Both of the sources cited are secondary, but at least they support each other in showing that wages in American companies were high.

6. Evaluate the reasoning

   a. Paragraph 2—This is a comparison. The comparison itself looks fine. The investments are both for the same country, using the same currencies during the same years. It is hard to think of differences. Nevertheless, the small amount of foreign investment may have been crucial to business success.

   b. Paragraph 4—It is a cause and effect of sorts. It argues that since something (B) did not happen then the proposed cause (A) did not happen. The premise that we should see a significant rise in profits may not be correct, however. In fact, maybe just keeping business profits the same was success. Or maybe American businessmen were hoping for increased profits from imperialism but they were disappointed. The question under study is the motive for imperialism, not its outcome.

c. Paragraph 8—This is a cause-and-effect argument in which the author tries to eliminate other possible motives (causes) for building the Panama Canal. This is a reasonably strong argument but it would be stronger with evidence.

OVERALL

7. Students will disagree about which viewpoint is stronger. Make them support their answers.

Suggested Analyses

HISTORIAN A

In paragraph 1 we see a large increase in foreign investment at the same time that the United States became imperialistic (a correlation). The author argues that the increased investments were due to the need by American companies to avoid glutting the American market (the proposed connection between the cause and the effect). If the businessmen really were concerned about declining profits, then they *might* have pushed the United States government to become imperialistic. No evidence is presented, however, to show that government decision makers were influenced by businessmen. Only one businessman (Charles Conant) is presented to support the point that American businessmen, *in general*, feared declining profits. It is also possible that the statistics are a case of special pleading (p. 11, "Guide to Critical Thinking"). The historian may have chosen the most favorable statistics to make his point. We would like to see the figures for the other years and maybe foreign investment as a percentage of GNP or total investments. The students should be asking, "compared to what?"

Historian A does put forth some evidence in endnotes 4 and 5 to show that businessmen tried to influence President McKinley on the Philippines. The quote by Mark Hanna shows that McKinley may have been influenced to take the island for commercial reasons, but the argument would be much better with a quote from McKinley.

No evidence is presented to support the argument about the American Sugar Refining Company (paragraph 3) or the devastating results of United States investments on the Latin American countries (paragraph 5).

HISTORIAN B

In paragraph 2, the author argues that foreign investments were small compared to investments within the country. This is an important point. The foreign investments may, however, have been a critical part of some businesses (averages mask this possibility—it may be the fallacy of composition, p. 10, "Guide to Critical Thinking"). On the other hand, Historian B argues persuasively in paragraph 3 against this exception.

In paragraph 4, Historian B makes a *stated* assumption when he says that we should see profits rise in the United States from 1890 to 1929. There are two possible problems with Historian B's assumption. First, the idea was to keep profits up. The fact that profits did not fall, even though they were low, may show overall success of foreign investment. Second, businessmen may have pushed the United States into imperialistic ventures *hoping* to increase profits, but were unsuccessful in doing so.

The second sentence in paragraph 5 seems weak because capitalist investment in precious metals may have been much larger than in pre-capitalist times.

The argument in paragraph 7 that the American Sugar Refining Company did not profit from American policies in Cuba suffers from the same weakness as was pointed out for the sentence beginning paragraph 4. The fact that the sugar company did not profit does not mean that it did not try to foster imperialistic policies. The drop of sugar imports to the United States from the Dutch West Indies and Europe was beyond the control of the sugar company.

In paragraph 7, one might wonder about the 16% figure—16% of one of the largest sugar crops in the world might be quite significant. Also, Americans may again have been hoping to expand their exports.

The argument on the Panama Canal is quite complex and the author goes into more detail in the original article, ("The Returns to U.S. Imperialism, 1890–1920," *The Journal of Economic History*, XL [June, 1980], pp. 229-52). Students might consider that the canal provided a competitive advantage for American shippers over shippers further from it (those further away would use it less frequently than they would use other routes) or against shippers who used other modes of transportation.

The students should note the general lack of evidence (as opposed to factual information, which is abundant). Also, the sources provided in the endnotes are secondary.

Lesson 8: Who Was Primarily to Blame for the *Lusitania* Tragedy?

Objectives

To identify values and value judgments
To evaluate evidence

Teaching Ideas

One way to begin the lesson is to have students fill in the Value Survey, "Contraband and Submarines" (pp. 54–55). Discussion of this survey has proved to be very interesting and thought provoking. You could use the survey at a later point in the lesson, if desired.

There are a number of different ways to proceed with the lesson. One method is to have students read and evaluate Historian A. Were they convinced by Historian A's argument? If not, what are its weaknesses? Discuss it as a class, then have them repeat the process for Historian B. A second method is to have half the students defend Historian A and half defend Historian B in a debate, either as a class or in several small groups. A third method is to have students evaluate the viewpoints according to the ARMEAR model (p. 18, "Guide to Critical Thinking") and discuss it as a class. A fourth way to do the lesson is to have the students write subquestions to help them break down the topic and compare the two viewpoints. Analyze and discuss the viewpoints as a class according to the subquestions.

Alternative abbreviated viewpoints are provided in this teacher's guide (pp. 73–75) for less able students. These are much shorter and easier to understand than the lengthy interpretations in the student book.

Suggested Analyses

Evaluations of the two viewpoints will vary greatly from student to student. Some of the issues are questions of evidence or reasoning, but many are questions of value positions. For example, is it right to withdraw a ship (the *Juno*) from rescuing survivors when the ship would also be in danger of being sunk? This is why the survey handout is included. Students need to think about their own positions before dealing with the two viewpoints.

One way to break down this complex argument is to ask subquestions on various topics. An analysis of the two viewpoints by subquestions follows:

1. Does the German warning justify torpedoing the ship?

   Obviously a question of value judgment. If you are forewarned about danger, is the responsibility for your safety your own? Analogies to such issues as cigarette smoking could be used.

2. Was the *Juno* supposed to escort the *Lusitania*?

   This is an evidence question and neither historian establishes a convincing case. Historian A's evidence does not clearly show that the *Juno* was supposed to escort the liner, and Historian B argues that a lack of evidence (negative proof fallacy) shows the warship was not ordered to escort the liner. On the other hand, Historian B's argument that the escort by a warship would not have helped the *Lusitania* makes sense.

3. Was the *Lusitania* deliberately left alone to be sunk in order to draw the United States into the war?

   Since the *Lusitania* probably was warned (based on the evidence) this line of reasoning seems unlikely. It is interesting that Historian B argues that Winston Churchill's other actions in his life show that he would not deliberately sacrifice people in this way. Tell your students that during World War II Churchill did not warn the city of Coventry that it was going to be bombed by German airplanes because he did not want the Germans to realize that the British had broken their code. Are the two cases similar enough (comparison reasoning) to show that Churchill may have sacrificed the passengers of the *Lusitania* to help draw the United States into the war on Britain's side?

4. Were the Germans forced to sink the *Lusitania* given the circumstances?

   A value position question.

5. Was the *Lusitania* sunk primarily by the munitions exploding?

   Notice that the two historians agree that the ship was loaded with munitions. Historian B's argument that the small arms ammunition could not have exploded seems strong.

   The question of whether the gun cotton or the boilers blew up is more difficult. Historian B's argument that it was illogical to load a ship which the British were hoping to be sunk with needed materials is weak. One group in the British government may have loaded the gun cotton while a separate group in the government may have been setting it up to be sunk. On the other hand, Historian B's argument that it is much more likely that the boilers blew up is strong and is backed by some evidence. Students should ask two questions to help answer this problem:

Does tightly-packed gun cotton (nitrocellulose) really explode on contact with sea water? (Chemists have differing opinions about it.) Where exactly are the holes in the ship? Note that the evidence by the survivors from the boiler rooms does not necessarily rule out the boilers exploding. Historian A only *infers* that because they did not say a boiler blew up that the boilers did not blow up. This is a weak line of reasoning.

6. Did the design of the *Lusitania* mean that the British were partly responsible for the great loss of life?

   This is a value position question. Note that the two historians agree that the ship's design did contribute to the loss of life. They disagree whether the designer bears some responsibility for the disaster.

7. Were the British wrong to recall the *Juno* from rescuing survivors?

   A value position question.

8. Did the British cover up the sinking in their inquiry?

   It seems that the captain of the *Lusitania* was indeed warned of submarine activity in the area, so to that extent it probably was not a cover-up. The questions on munitions, ship's design, etc. may have been covered up, but they may not have been thought to be serious questions. It may have been common knowledge at the time that there was ammunition on board, for example.

ABBREVIATED VIEWPOINT A

Lusitania (A)

—The *Lusitania* was sunk on May 7, 1915, by a German U–boat off the coast of Ireland; 1200 people died.

—The Germans warned the passengers that the ship would be sunk.

—The British did not tell the passengers that the ship was loaded with munitions, nor that gun mounts had been placed on it.

ABBREVIATED VIEWPOINT A

—The British captain told the passengers that the *Lusitania* would be protected by warships, but it was not. The British Admiralty (the leaders of the navy) did not try to protect the ship even though they knew there were submarines in the area.

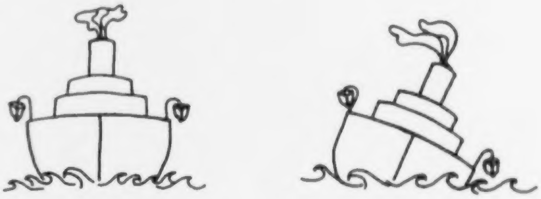
—The British wanted the United States to come into the war on their side.

—The British figured that if a passenger ship with United States citizens on it was sunk by the Germans, the United States would be very upset. President Wilson had stated that Americans had the right to travel on ships without being harmed.

—The commander of the German U–boat said he fired one torpedo but there were two explosions.

—The *Lusitania* was loaded with gun cotton, which explodes when it comes in contact with salt water.

—The *Lusitania* was designed in a way that caused it to list (tilt to one side) when it was hit. The list prevented most of the lifeboats from being lowered. (See the diagram below.)



—After the *Lusitania* was torpedoed and sunk, rescue ships were sent out. The rescue ships were recalled, however, even though they were within sight of the passengers. During the night most of the passengers drowned.

—Divers stated that the front of the *Lusitania*, where the ammunition and gun cotton were stored, had a huge hole in it, indicating an explosion from inside the ship.

—Two survivors of boiler room 1 and one survivor of boiler room 2 said nothing about boilers exploding. Boiler rooms 3 and 4 were not near where the torpedo hit, and they rose out of the water, so the boilers in those rooms could not have exploded.

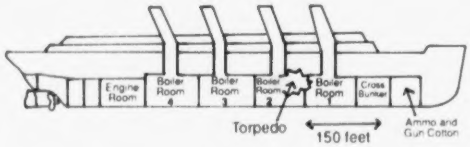
ABBREVIATED VIEWPOINT B

Lusitania (B)

—Warning a ship does not justify sinking it and killing 1200 civilians.

—The munitions of the *Lusitania* would not have exploded when hit by the torpedo.

—The gun cotton was more that 150 feet from where the torpedo struck the ship. There were watertight doors between the two spots. How could the gun cotton have exploded within 1 or 2 seconds of the torpedo hitting 150 feet away?



—One diver found a hole on the opposite side of the ship from where the torpedo hit it. The hole was ripped outward, indicating an explosion in that spot. The spot is a boiler room.

—The torpedo hit between the first and second boiler rooms.

—Boilers have frequently exploded when ships have been damaged. The boilers are under tremendous pressure (195 pounds per square inch).

—The *Lusitania* was warned several times by the British navy that there were submarines in the area and to sail in a zigzag route. The *Lusitania's* captain, Captain Turner, sailed straight, making the ship an easy target.

—The *Lusitania* was one of the two fastest ships in the world in 1915. If warships had been sent to "guard" her, she would have had to sail more slowly, making her a better target. Warships had no effective defense against submarines in 1915.

—Many ships had previously been sunk while trying to rescue passengers of torpedoed ships.

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Lesson 9: Why Did the United States enter World War I?

Objectives

To find the main idea
To recognize unstated assumptions
To assess cause and effect
To evaluate proof reasoning
To evaluate evidence
To identify various fallacies
To identify words which make value judgments
To identify unclear words

Teaching Ideas

Ask your class why it was difficult for the United States to stay out of World War I. Ask: What was the main cause for United States entry into World War I? Tell them that this question is the focus of this lesson.

Three ways to proceed with the lesson are: (1) have the students evaluate the arguments according to the worksheet, then have them discuss their answers in groups of three and discuss as a class; (2) have students evaluate the viewpoints according to the ARMEAR model explained in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (p. 18), discuss in groups and discuss as a class; (3) divide the class into pro and con groups on the proposition: submarine warfare by Germany was the main cause for the United States entry into World War I. Along with other research sources, the con group uses Historian A's argument and the pro group uses Historian B's argument. Have the students debate the proposition in small groups (3 against 3) and then, if desired, as a class. Analyze the debate for conclusions, types of reasoning, evidence, and so forth.

To make the lesson less difficult, have students do only Historian A (which contains easier vocabulary) and do only questions 1, 3, and 6 from the worksheet.

You could extend the lesson by having students follow up these two readings with more research and an essay on why the United States entered World War I.

Suggested Analyses
HISTORIAN A

1. Main point of Historian A

   The main cause for the United States entry into World War I was American loans and trade with the Allies.

2. Unstated assumption (Possible answers)

   —Countries which have more trade with one country than another treat their largest customer better because of the economic trade.

—Diplomatic protests are controlled by economic considerations.

(Note the general phrasing. Ask students if they agree with the assumption. They are likely to conclude that evidence is needed to prove the assumption.)

3. Unstated assumption

It is wrong to make loans to or trade with one side in a war if you cannot make loans to or trade with the other side also.

(Note to students the value judgment in this assumption.)

4. C—The key words are "would have."

5. To answer this question, the students must remember: first, to identify the type of reasoning used; second, to ask the key question; and third, to decide what they think.

a. This sentence is primarily cause-and-effect reasoning based on the cue word "resulted." (It is also sample reasoning.) The author does not make any effort to show the connection between the war trade (the cause) and the prosperity of the United States (the effect). It seems logical that the war trade would help cause prosperity, but there may have been other, more important factors. Without evidence, the author may be guilty of *post hoc* reasoning ("Guide to Critical Thinking," p. 6—the prosperity occurred right after the war began; therefore, the war trade caused the prosperity).

b. This sentence is primarily cause-and-effect reasoning. The cue word here is "made," meaning caused us to be. Again, the connection between the cause (our trade) and the effect (our being unneutral) is unclear. For example, how do we know that the reverse is not true, that our being sympathetic with Britain and France (i.e., unneutral) caused us to trade with these countries? We need to know if there is evidence of the United States being unneutral before the loans were granted. The author may have committed the correlation-as-cause fallacy (p. 6) here.

c. This sentence is a combination of cause-and-effect and proof-by-eliminating-alternatives reasoning. The connection between American loans and supplies to

HISTORIAN A

the Allies (the cause) and German unrestricted submarine warfare (the effect) is not made. Ask your students: what kind of evidence might show the connection between American loans and the German decision to try unrestricted submarine warfare? (Possible answer: Arguments at top level meetings by German leaders that they should try unrestricted submarine warfare to counteract American loans and trade.)

In the proof reasoning the author does not eliminate alternatives to unrestricted submarine warfare. It is hard, however, to think of an effective alternative to submarine warfare that Germany could use to stop American trade.

6. This is strong evidence because the President is showing that what he himself allowed (credits) was not neutral—that is, he has no obvious reason to distort. We might want to see the context of the statement which would give us a better idea of why he said it.

HISTORIAN B

7. Main point of Historian B

   The German submarine campaign was the main reason the United States entered World War I.

8. Unstated assumption (possible answers)

   —People are more precious than property.
   —It is worth going to war over the killing of people.

9. False scenario (p. 6, "Guide to Critical Thinking")
10. False scenario
11. Single causes (p. 6, "Guide to Critical Thinking")
12. Paragraph 1, second sentence—greed; paragraph 4, second to last sentence—indiscriminate destruction
13. Paragraph 3, second sentence—protested; paragraph 5, last sentence—effective; paragraph 7, first sentence—critical
14. Answers will vary on this question.

a. Historian B shows that propaganda and pro-Allied sympathy would not necessarily have pushed the United States into the war. He does not show, however, that they could not have been the factors that pushed us into war.

b. Historian B argues that the businessmen involved in the war trade had no direct contact with the government and that, therefore, the war trade could not have influenced the government. The *unstated assumption* here—that businessmen need direct contact with government in order to influence it—is highly questionable. For example, Historian A argues that it was the general prosperity of the country which caused American political leaders to be unneutral.

15. This question forces students to look for the part of the argument which is not debating, but rather, which attempts to prove that submarine warfare pushed America into the war. That is, it forces students to examine the part of the argument which supports the main point. Note that in these two short paragraphs there is no evidence to show that submarines were the key factor in the United States entry into the war.

GENERAL QUESTION

16. Answers will vary. Point out that Historian A shows a cause (war trade) for German submarine warfare—the cause argued for by Historian B. Historian B attempts to show that there was no connection between the war trade and the government's decision for war.

UNIT 3
1920s AND THE NEW DEAL

Lesson 10: Identifying and Evaluating Evidence

Objectives

To evaluate evidence
To identify sources

Teaching Ideas

This is a reinforcement lesson on skills from Lessons 1 and 2, so it need not take a lot of time. If students answer the questions for homework, they can compare their answers in small groups and then discuss them as a class fairly quickly.

Suggested Answers

Identifying Evidence

1. N
2. N
3. S Amnesty International is the source.
4. N
5. N
6. S Hiram Evans is the source.
7. S The *New York Times* is the source.

Evaluating Evidence

8. Teapot Dome

Strengths

- Allen, as a historian, does not have a reason to lie (R) that we know of.

Weaknesses

- It is not a primary (P) source and there is no other (O) evidence supporting his point that Fall made a deal. It is a public (P) source.

Summary

- This source is not as strong as a primary source on the scandal. The author should at least tell the reader what sources he used.

9. New Deal Goals

Strengths

- It is a primary (P) source.

Weaknesses

- Roosevelt has a reason to lie (R) about some things since it is a public (P) statement. He is certainly not going to explain points that will hurt some groups. He can be more blunt than before the election, but he cannot say things that will erode his political support. On the other hand, the speech should be a clear statement of the broad goals of the program. There is no other (O) evidence of his goals, which could shed light on what goals were most important.

Summary	• Overall this is a good source to use to get an idea of Roosevelt's goals in 1933, however, more sources are needed.
	10. Republic Steel Plant Violence—*Times* Article
Strengths	• It was written soon after the event.
Weaknesses	• Since the article quotes the police, it is fairly clear that the newspaper did not have a reporter on the scene. Thus, it was not a primary (P) source. Moreover, the police have a strong reason to lie (R) to protect themselves. There is no other (O) evidence to support the claims made, and the article, as well as the police statement, is public (P)—meant to influence people.
Summary	• This is a very weak source.
	11. Republic Steel Plant Violence—Senate report on the Paramount film
Strengths	• The film is a primary (P) source, and the film just took in what happened so it had no obvious reason to lie (R).
Weaknesses	• There is no other (O) evidence supporting the viewpoint that the police started the riot. The question of why the confrontation was filmed raises the possibility that it was to influence opinion afterward (P—public source) by representing the strikers' point of view. Thus, the filmmakers may have had a reason to lie (R).
Summary	• Overall, this is a much stronger source than the *Times* article (#10), but the film could have distorted what happened, for example, by focusing the camera on the police when the strikers were throwing things or shooting.

Lesson 11: Identifying and Evaluating Comparisons

Objectives

To identify and evaluate comparisons

Teaching Ideas

The section on identifying comparisons should not be too difficult and can be done quickly. Cue students to watch for comparative words. The section on evaluating comparisons should be more challenging and may lead to some problematic responses. Try to focus on the process of evaluating comparisons rather than on right answers. Items 9 and 11 involve the selection of statistics for specific years which suggests the possibility of the fallacy of special pleading (p. 11, "Guide to Critical Thinking").

Suggested Answers

IDENTIFYING COMPARISONS

1. C "Better" indicates a comparison.
2. N
3. N
4. C
5. N
6. C "More" indicates a comparison.
7. C "Better" indicates a comparison.
8. N

EVALUATING COMPARISONS

9. There are a number of possible differences which make us question the comparison. Inflation or increased advertising rates could account for some of the increase in the amount spent on advertising. Or a new mode for advertising, such as radio, may have made advertising more effective, leading to more use of it.
10. It is likely that farmers' income went down while their expenses went up. We would need to know more, however, about the amount of crops sold. If the amount sold increased dramatically, then farm income may have gone up despite lower prices. They are the same people performing the same job, so the comparison seems reasonable.
11. It looks like the unemployment rate dropped, but we would rather see percentages (a better comparative indicator) than absolute numbers. (Percentages are given in item #12, and actually show a more dramatic improvement.) The other question, as in item 9, is why these years were selected. If 1934 and 1938 were used, a different picture would emerge. So this

is an example of special pleading. It is not clear that item 9 commits this fallacy, but it is clear that this argument does.

12. As mentioned above, if 1934 and 1938 are selected, the argument could be made that the New Deal made very little difference in the economy.

Lesson 12: Analyzing Cause and Effect

Objectives

To identify and evaluate cause-and-effect reasoning

Teaching Ideas

Have students read the introduction and, if necessary, ask questions to make sure they understand it. Have them read the three viewpoints and explain which viewpoint is strongest under question 1. Then have them discuss their answers in small groups and as a class. If you did Lesson 4 with this class, you can refer back to it to guide students.

The section on identifying cause-and-effect arguments is meant to be a quick follow-up lesson. Have students answer the questions in this section and discuss as a class.

Suggested Answers

CONNECTION

1. Strongest viewpoint

   Based on the criterion of connecting Prohibition (the proposed cause) to the expansion of organized crime (the effect), the best answer is A. This viewpoint connects the illegality of alcohol to smaller supply. Smaller supply connects to higher prices and profits, with organized crime filling the demand and raking in easy money.

   Historian B says that many people refused to obey the Volstead Act but does not explain how this opposition led to more organized crime. Historian C describes the many methods used by organized crime to distribute and sell alcohol, but does not show how Prohibition led to more organized crime. The last sentences in both Historian B and C are irrelevant to the causes for organized crime.

IDENTIFYING CAUSE-AND-EFFECT ARGUMENTS

2. N No cause for why he drives or walks is proposed.
3. C cause—$600 to fix car
   effect—cancelled the trip
4. C cause—new industrialization
   effect—leisure time to masses
5. C causes—wave of strikes and Communist Party
   effect—anti-radicalism reaction in the United States
6. N No cause for why he did not fear ridicule is proposed.
7. N No cause is proposed for why the flapper wanted the same social freedom as men.

Lesson 13: Were Sacco and Vanzetti Guilty?

Objectives

To evaluate evidence

Teaching Ideas

Some students may get frustrated by the contradictory nature of the information in this lesson. They may want a clear, simple answer, especially at the end of the lesson. Don't give it to them.

Begin by asking students if making a historical judgment about whether someone committed a crime is the same as making a legal judgment in court that someone is guilty of committing a crime. (No. We might feel someone should be found not guilty in court but feel he or she probably committed the crime. In court we have to prove beyond a reasonable doubt, while in history we judge whether something happened if there is more evidence to show it happened than to show it did not happen.) Tell your students that today's class will deal with the historical question of whether Sacco and Vanzetti committed the murder and the legal question of whether they should have been found guilty in court.

For homework, have the students sort the information into evidence that could be used to show guilt (G), to show innocence (I), or that cannot be used to show guilt or innocence (N), then write their argument in favor of or against Sacco and Vanzetti. Group students by their preferences and have them debate the issue as a class.

After the debate, discuss the issue of whether Sacco and Vanzetti should have been found guilty in court. Make sure students realize this is a separate question. Ask students which information would not be available to the jury. Have them decide, as best they can, based only on the information available to the jury.

Have students consider the photograph of Sacco and Vanzetti and discuss their answers.

Obviously there is a great deal more information that could be researched on this controversial case. If students get interested and want to do more research, wonderful!

Suggested Answers

1. N
2. G It is not very strong, but it could be used by prosecutors.

3. N It can be used by prosecutors (G) if combined with number 4.
4. G Now information 3 is significant.
5. G
6. G
7. G Anarchism should be interesting to discuss. Do students think that radicals are more likely to commit violent crimes? You could discuss the political climate of the 1920s at this point. Some students should question why pacifists were carrying guns.
8. I It shows that Sacco and Vanzetti's behavior in 5 and 6 might be due to the circumstances, not to their guilt.
9. I Same as information 8
10. G
11. N It shows that perhaps the police were unfair, but it does not show that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent.
12. N
13. I
14. I or G Some witnesses identified Sacco, but the reliability of witnesses' testimony is weakened.
15. N See information 11, above.
16. G or I It depends on which part is emphasized.
17. I
18. I
19. I It shows a lack of reliability among witnesses.
20. I
21. G
22. G
23. I
24. I
25. G This weakens the defense's case.
26. I
27. G It weakens Madeiros's confession.
28. G
29. G
30. I
31. I
32. I The implication is that someone (the police or

prosecution, perhaps) fired a fourth bullet through Sacco's gun and then added the shell to the evidence to get Sacco convicted. This is an inference—it isn't proven.

33. I This weakens the cap as evidence (#28).
34. I
35. I
36. I
37. I If Sacco committed the crime, why would he let them test his gun?
38. I
39. I

ARGUING THE CASE

Answers are based on student assessment of the information.

PHOTOGRAPH

The prosecution might emphasize the foreign appearance of the men, Vanzetti especially. The defense would emphasize the upstanding appearance of the two men—their ties, neat shirts, etc.

Lesson 14: What Caused the Great Depression?

Objectives

To identify and evaluate evidence
To find the main idea
To recognize unstated assumptions
To assess cause and effect
To relate relevant information to hypotheses

Teaching Ideas

Have students read through the introductory section containing the glossary of terms. Question students to make sure they understand these terms. You may also want to supplement the terms with a discussion of how money is created by banks using the fractional reserve system. Most economics books have a few pages on the creation of money. Understanding how money is created is important to understanding Historian E's argument.

Next, have students read the relevant information and Historians A and B and answer the questions. Discuss their answers, then move on through the other historians and questions.

You can make the lesson less difficult by skipping Historian F (and possibly Historian E) and questions 4, 9, 10, and 11.

Some students may conclude that none of the viewpoints is very good. In this instance, that may not be such a bad conclusion. Economist Peter Temin has argued that none of the hypotheses (interpretations) of the causes of the Great Depression has been adequately tested.

Suggested Answers
HISTORIANS A AND B

1. Main point of Historian A: The weaknesses of the American economy (declining industries, technological unemployment, unequal distribution of income, and foreign trade problems) were the main cause of the Depression.
2. Main point of Historian B: The main cause of the Great Depression was the unequal distribution of income in the 1920s.
3. Based on the key question for cause-and-effect reasoning (Does the historian show the connection between the cause and the effect?), Historian B has the stronger explanation. Historian B at least explains that unequal distribution of income leads to overpro-

duction, but does not explain how overproduction leads to depression. Historian A does not explain how *any* of his causes led to the Depression.

4. Possible assumptions

—The stock crash was equal to the Depression.

—Once the stock market crashed the Depression was inevitable.

—When the stock market crashed America was immediately plunged into the Depression.

—The stock market crash was the only cause of the Depression.

5. Weaknesses

a. Historian A—Relevant information 5 weakens this viewpoint. It also has all the weaknesses listed below for Historian B.

b. Historian B—Relevant information 3 shows that the increase in production and the decrease in consumption, due to unequal distribution of income, could not have been important. Even if the rich people used all of their money for production and the poor used all of theirs for consumption, the change in income would only account for a 2% decrease in consumption—not a significant factor in the 36% decrease in national income from 1929 to 1933.

Relevant information 4 also hurts this argument since it shows that the assumption that crashes lead inevitably to depressions is not warranted.

Both Historians A and B commit the *post hoc* fallacy (p. 6, "Guide to Critical Thinking"). They reason that since the Depression followed the stock crash, the stock crash must have caused the Depression.

HISTORIANS C AND D

6. Historian C gives a clearly stronger argument, by explaining how the stock crash would cause a decline in spending and investment, thus reducing GNP. Historian D only shows what caused the bull market and why the market fell once the prices started to decline.

7. Historian C—Relevant information 1 and 2 show that the stock market crash was not significant compared to the decline in national income which followed it. It may be, as one economist put it, that the stock

crash was the initial shock which led to a macroeconomic meltdown. Even if this is true, there needs to be more explanation on how the stock market crash caused the meltdown.

Relevant information 4 weakens the argument, as explained for Historian B. The first paragraph of Historian E also weakens this argument since he points out that everyone agrees that there was a recession in 1929. So the stock crash may have caused a recession in 1929. The question is why the economy did not recover in 1930.

HISTORIAN E

8. Main point of Historian E: The decline in the money supply, due to the bank panic and the restrictive policies of the Federal Reserve Bank, was the primary cause of the Great Depression.
9. A weakness in Historian E's argument could be correlation as cause. How do we know that the decline in national income did not cause the decline in the money supply, rather than the other way around? See the answer for question 10, Historian F for an explanation of the debate between Historians E and F on this point.

HISTORIAN F

10. Main point of Historian F: The decline in spending in 1930 was the main cause of the Great Depression.
11. Several possible answers: What factors does he think caused spending to decline so much in 1930? How low were interest rates? Were all interest rates low?
12. Historian F—Relevant information 6 might weaken his case, but we do not know. The argument is quite complex between these two historians. Historian E claims that the other interest rates are a better indicator of the supply and demand for money, while Historian F claims that short-term interest rates are the key indicator.

GENERAL QUESTIONS

13. Solutions for depressions: Answers will vary. Some reasonable inferences are:

Historian B—Equalize wealth more. (Some New Deal programs and tax legislation tried to do this.)

Historian D—Regulate the stock market to control speculation and buying on margin. (The Securities and Exchange Commission was set up to do this.)

Historian E—Try a more expansionary monetary policy during a depression. Start insuring bank deposits to prevent bank panics (such as the FDIC).

Historian F—Stimulate more spending during a depression. (This would be done through the Keynesian policy of deficit spending.)

14. Student answers will vary depending on their assessments of the viewpoints. Historians E and F should get most of the votes the way the lesson is written.

Lesson 15: What Should Be Done to Cure the Depression

Objectives

To assess cause and effect
To recognize unstated assumptions

Teaching Ideas

It is best to use this lesson *before* students have read anything about the New Deal, but after they have studied the causes of the Depression.

Have students fill in the worksheet for homework and have them discuss their answers in small groups, trying to convince one another that their selections would work best. Then discuss the choices as a class. Which would they do? Which proposals are not good choices? Why? Are there other ideas, not in the lesson, they think should have been tried?

Another aspect you could focus on is the political spectrum. Use the sheet explaining the political spectrum (p. 83), if necessary, and then have students label each proposal A–E, as directed on p. 84.

After students complete the lesson, have them try to find examples of at least four of the proposals that were actually tried in the United States or in other countries in the 1920s and 1930s. The suggested answer section on the political spectrum indicates where some of the proposals were really tried.

Suggested Answers

TOP AND BOTTOM RANKED CHOICES

The ranking is a matter of opinion by the students, but make them defend their choices with good reasons. Watch for cause-and-effect reasoning and unstated assumptions.

WHERE THE PROPOSALS MIGHT BE ON THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM

(There can be reasonable differences of opinion about the answers. Ask students to support their choices.)

1. A or B Proposed by Rexford Tugwell, one of FDR's "brain trust"
2. D
3. D This is similar to the actual set up of the NRA (National Recovery Administration). It is important to note from this that originally the New Deal was conservative (pro-business), at least to some extent.
4. D Similar to President Hoover's position
5. B

6. B Similar to the Keynesian position
7. A Huey Long's position
8. E The Fascist solution to the Depression—this is what Germany tried under the Nazis. Interestingly enough, "A" would be an acceptable answer also.
9. A The Communist solution
10. D Similar to President Hoover's position

Lesson 16: Was the New Deal Good or Bad for the Country?

Objectives

To find the main idea
To identify evidence
To recognize unstated assumptions
To assess cause and effect
To evaluate generalizations
To identify the false scenario fallacy

Teaching Ideas

Have the students read the two viewpoints and answer the questions, then discuss their answers as a class. Or you could ask students which viewpoint they feel is stronger (Question 9) and just discuss that question, focusing on the strengths and weaknesses of the two arguments. Or you could have students evaluate the arguments according to the ARMEAR Model (p. 18, "Guide to Critical Thinking").

Both of these arguments are weak due primarily to their brevity and lack of evidence. An interesting assignment would be to have students choose one of the arguments and write an improved version of it (perhaps with specific suggestions, such as including two pieces of evidence).

Use the viewpoints as a springboard for further research and position papers on the New Deal.

Suggested Answers

HISTORIAN A

1. Possible main points

   —The New Deal was bad for our country.

   —The New Deal was a failure.

2. None. No sources are given.

3. Possible assumptions

   —The economy functions normally (and well) when intellectuals or socialists are not involved in it.

   —Intellectuals and socialists hurt the economy.

4. Evaluate

   Cause and effect—How do we know the New Deal caused the debt increase? Maybe something else caused it, such as the Depression.

   Generalization—Why were these particular years selected to compare? Could this be the fallacy of special pleading?

Assumption—Is this increase in debt really bad?

HISTORIAN B

5. Possible main points

—The New Deal helped our country.

—The New Deal reformed and saved our capitalist system.

6. None. No sources are included.
7. Fallacy

False scenario (p. 6, "Guide to Critical Thinking")

8. This is a generalization. We want to know if the author's sample is representative of the American public as a whole. Most likely the author did not take a poll at all, so the sample is really more of a hunch. Also, this is a hard generalization—if only one person starved, this exaggerated claim is disproved.

CARTOONS

9. This is a matter of opinion, but must be based on sound reasons.

Cartoon A, "Old Reliable," is critical of the New Deal, so it would support Historian A.

Cartoon B, "Yes, You Remembered Me," is favorable to the New Deal, so it would support Historian B.

UNIT 4
FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1945

Lesson 17: Assessing the Reliability of Sources

Objectives

To evaluate evidence

Teaching Ideas

This is a reinforcement lesson on evaluating evidence (see Lessons 2 and 10). Students should fill in the strengths and weaknesses, then you can discuss them as a class. The discussion should go fairly quickly, but there are likely to be some disagreements and gray areas. Focus on the process, not right answers.

Some students may get confused if they do not know much about the topics discussed in each problem (the Cold War, fall of China, and so forth).

Suggested Answers

1. Cold War—Byrnes' book

STRENGTHS
- Byrnes is a primary source (P).

WEAKNESSES
- Byrnes has a reason to lie (R) when blaming the Cold War on the Soviets rather than his own government; there is no other (O) evidence offered here to support his views; and it is a public (P) statement.

SUMMARY
- We would need more evidence of Soviet violations to corroborate Byrnes' evidence.

2. Fall of China—Acheson's article

STRENGTHS
- Acheson is a primary (P) source on United States policy toward China, but not about events in China. On the other hand, he would have access to a lot of information on events in China.

WEAKNESSES
- Acheson has a reason to lie (R) to protect himself and the State Department; there is no other (O) evidence to support his claims; and it is a public (P) statement.

SUMMARY
- This is weak evidence, due to Acheson's reason to lie.

3. North Korean Attack—UN statements

STRENGTHS
- There is a great deal of evidence other (O) than the UN statements.

WEAKNESSES
- None of the evidence is from primary (P) sources,

unless the newspapers had reporters on the scene at the time of the attack. The UN statements are certainly secondary sources regarding the attack. As far as we know, all the countries had a reason to lie (R) as this is an issue dividing Communist from non-Communist countries. The UN statements are public (P).

Summary
- The corroboration makes it strong evidence.

4. Missiles in Cuba—aerial photographs

Strengths
- The photographs are primary sources (P) and have no reason to lie (R), although they could have been staged or doctored. There is other (O) evidence supporting the point that the Soviets had missiles there; and, inasmuch as the Soviets did not know that they were being photographed, the photos are private (P). The photos were used publicly by the United States.

Weaknesses
- None

Summary
- This is very strong evidence.

5. Marshall Plan—statement by Marshall

Strengths
- Marshall is a primary source (P).

Weaknesses
- Marshall is making a public statement (P), so he has a reason to lie (R), and there is no other evidence supporting his points.

Summary
- Despite its weaknesses, this is an important piece of evidence in determining why the United States started the Marshall Plan. We just need other evidence to verify it.

Lesson 18: Identifying Assumptions and Analyzing Value Judgments

Objectives

To identify unstated assumptions
To analyze value judgments

Teaching Ideas

Have students complete the section on identifying unstated assumptions, compare answers in small groups, and discuss their answers as a class. Students may have to refer several times to the section on **Assumptions** in the "Guide to Critical Thinking" (p. 15).

Go over the first item in the section on value judgments (Question #7) to make sure students understand what they are doing. Then have them individually do items 8, 9, and 10, compare their analyses in small groups, and discuss as a class. After you finish this method of analyzing value judgments, you might want to refer students to the other tests for value judgments (p. 17, "Guide to Critical Thinking"):

—What would society be like if everyone believed and acted on this value?

—Would you want the value applied to you?

Have students apply these questions to the value judgments in questions 7–10. For example, in number 7 the value judgment is: You should always keep a promise. We could test the worthiness of this claim by asking the two questions. (Society would be better off if all people kept their promises. Most people would want other people to keep their promises.)

EXTENDING THE LESSON

A very interesting way to extend the lesson is to do the following exercise which reveals students' assumptions.

Give every student a handout with a statement on it about a battle. Instruct them to add at least two more sentences to the story, including the situation leading up to the battle. Half the class will get the statement, "American forces attacked Soviet troops in Germany." The other half get the statement, "Soviet forces attacked American troops in Germany." It is important that students not know that they have different statements. After they have added to the statements, you can ask for volunteers to read theirs and ask if anyone recognizes assumptions in the completions. Or you could ask how many students thought the attackers were to blame. If more hands go up from the students who have the statement with the Soviets attacking, you can ask why. What are many people assuming about Soviet and American motives?

Suggested Answers

IDENTIFY UNSTATED ASSUMPTIONS

1. —I make better decisions.
   —I have more power than you (overrule).
   —You do not make very good decisions—you need guidance.
2. —When a teacher wants to see you after school, you have done something wrong (or you are in trouble).
3. —The Soviets do not respect compromise.
   —The Soviets will take whatever they can get.
   —The Soviets will not compromise if we compromise.
4. —Communism spreads to areas where there are economic troubles.
   —People are attracted to Communism for economic reasons.
5. —United States troops would have made the difference in the Civil War—they would have brought about victory.
   —Nationalist victory in China was more important to the United States than having men killed in a war.
   —What happened in China (or stopping Communism) is important to the United States.
6. —The threat of nuclear retaliation will be effective in stopping aggression.

VALUE JUDGMENTS

7. Done for them
8. Free elections

   Conclusion: The U.S.S.R. caused the problems in eastern Europe.

   Factual: The U.S.S.R. promised free elections but did not hold them.

   Value: Countries should keep their promises.

   Case: Suppose a country promised to hold free elections but then found that its most feared enemies would be elected.

   (Another value judgment is: Free elections are important. This claim can be explored also.)

9. Lend-lease

Conclusion: Cutting off lend-lease was justified.

Factual: The U.S.S.R. did not appreciate our aid.

Value: Countries are justified in cutting aid to countries which do not appreciate it.

Case: Suppose a country was giving aid to people starving due to a famine. Would it be justified in cutting the aid if the government of the famine-stricken country did not appreciate it?

10. German attack

Conclusion: The Russians were justified in taking over eastern Europe.

Factual: The U.S.S.R. took eastern Europe to prevent future attack.

Value: Countries are justified in taking over other countries in order to prevent possible future attack.

Case: Would the largest country in the world be justified in taking over ten other countries to prevent a possible future attack by a very small country?

Lesson 19: Identifying and Analyzing Types of Reasoning

Objectives

To identify and evaluate cause and effect
To identify and evaluate generalizations
To identify and evaluate comparisons
To identify the golden mean and big fig fallacies

Teaching Ideas

Have the students fill in the answers individually and share their answers in small groups, where they can help one another. Discuss their answers as a class. Since there are several types of reasoning possible for some items, listen for student reasons—the answers below are suggestive, not all inclusive. The fallacy in number 8 is not explained anywhere in this book, so students will have to consider it carefully rather than naming it.

Suggested Answers

TYPES OF REASONING

1. Football Game

TYPE
- Cause and effect

EVALUATION
- The connection of the "bad call" to the outcome is not clear. It is extremely unlikely that one play alone determined the outcome of a whole game. Besides, it sounds like the other team won by a wide margin ("rolled over us"). There are a number of other possible causes, such as the other team was better. This is a weak argument.

2. Contras

TYPE
- Mainly comparison but also cause and effect

EVALUATION
- Listen to arguments on whether the similarities (its domination by a big power in both cases) outweigh the differences (our army did not march in with the rebels, we are not imposing a totalitarian regime, etc.).

3. Poll on North

TYPE
- Generalization

EVALUATION
- Most polls today are randomly selected. The sample is very small but the samples usually represent the public well. The polling company claims it is accurate within 4%.

4. Missiles in Cuba

TYPE
- Comparison

EVALUATION

- Listen for reasons on both sides. In terms of a nuclear attack there may be no significant difference. In terms of political results from Soviet missiles in Cuba, however, the effects may be significant.

5. Kennedy and *The Guns of August*

TYPE

- Comparison; also cause and effect

EVALUATION

- The situation in 1962 may have been very different from that in 1914. Students should consider alliances, politics at home, technology, communication, geography, military balances, and so forth.

6. Korea

TYPE

- Cause and effect

EVALUATION

- The drive through North Korea probably led to the Chinese invasion, but we would like to see some evidence to show the connection. Maybe the Chinese would have invaded anyway. The argument would have been much stronger if the author included warnings by the Chinese that they would invade if the UN army drove further north.

EVALUATE

7. Cuban Missile Crisis

This is the golden mean fallacy (p. 13, "Guide to Critical Thinking").

8. Nicaraguan threat to Central America

This is the fallacy of the "Big Fig" (Big Figure). Compare the Honduras soldier to the Nicaragua soldier. The Nicaraguan army is roughly three times as large as the Honduran army, but the figure for Nicaragua is three times as high *and* three times as wide or roughly nine times as large to the eye. The visual effect is to exaggerate the Nicaraguan threat.

Lesson 20: Was the United States Justified in Dropping the Atomic Bombs on Japan?

Objectives

To find the main idea
To recognize unstated assumptions
To evaluate evidence
To evaluate generalizations
To evaluate comparisons
To evaluate cause and effect
To relate hypotheses to relevant information
To analyze value judgments
To evaluate proof by evidence and proof by eliminating alternatives

Teaching Ideas

It is recommended that you begin the lesson with the introductory section followed by the Atomic Bomb—Values Survey (p. 104, Student Text). This will get some of the value issues out in the open. The discussion of the survey tends to be lively. You can help students examine their value positions by asking questions about the underlying beliefs, as explained on p. 17 of the "Guide to Critical Thinking." Does warning always make an action justifiable? (Item 1) Does saving more lives in the end always make an action justifiable? (Item 2) Is continuing military action when the other side is trying to surrender always wrong? (Item 4) And so on. You can conclude this part of the lesson by asking if people who examine the same information but who have different values will arrive at the same conclusions. (No. For example, if you believe warning the enemy does not justify the bombings, then finding information about warning the Japanese will not mean very much and probably will not be emphasized in your interpretation. Beliefs shape the use of evidence.)

Tell the students that you are going to examine whether some of the claims made in the values survey actually took place. (Did we warn the Japanese? Were they really trying to surrender?) There are a number of options for using the two viewpoints. First, you could divide the class by their preferences into pro and con to debate in small groups the proposition that the United States was justified in dropping the atomic bombs. (Use the students who are undecided to even off the two groups.) Before the students debate, give them 5 or 10 minutes to organize by writing five arguments for their side. Cue them to focus on the weak points of the other viewpoint, especially evidence, reasoning, and assumptions.

A second method is to have students evaluate the two viewpoints according to the ARMEAR model (p. 18, "Guide to Critical Thinking"). Or you could have the class read and evaluate Historian A, discuss it, and then read Historian B, evaluate and discuss it. Remind students that there is relevant information that should be used, along with any other information they can think of, in their evaluations. The suggested answers are done according to the ARMEAR model.

You could get away from a step-by-step model by just telling the students to evaluate the two viewpoints and decide which is stronger. You could get away from a class analysis by having small groups decide which viewpoint is stronger and explain why in a report to the class.

Some students may become frustrated by the lack of resolution of many of the questions raised in this topic. Each argument may have a strong counterargument. They may push you for your analysis, that is, to resolve the issues for them. Resist the temptation.

A good concluding activity is to have students write their own interpretation of whether the United States was justified in dropping the bombs (Historian C?). You could, for example, require them to include two or three pieces of evidence and to argue that this evidence should be believed.

Suggested Answers

ARMEAR MODEL

(Some ideas for discussion—this is a partial analysis.)

ANALYSIS OF HISTORIAN A

A (Author)—Students might conclude that the author is Japanese or at least not American. He is, however, actually American.

R (Relevant Information)—Relevant information number 1 is related to paragraph 6, endnote 6. It should make us question the reliability of Historian A, since it seems to show that Historian A took a quote by President Truman out of context to prove something which Truman never intended.

Relevant information 3 and 5 lend support to Historian A's interpretation.

M (Main Point)—The United States was not justified in dropping the atomic bombs on Japan.

E (Evidence)—The evidence by Stimson (endnotes 2, 5, 7) and Byrnes (endnotes 1, 7) is strong because they

HISTORIAN A

have no reason to distort what they say—it makes them look bad.

The evidence by Szilard (endnote 2) is weaker. Szilard was opposed to the use of the bomb, which makes him a biased recorder of what Byrnes said.

The evidence of Eisenhower and Leahy (endnote 8) is weak because these men have a reason to distort (they do not want to be identified with the use of atomic weapons). Also, they, along with LeMay, might not want to give credit for the Japanese defeat to the atomic bombs rather than to the efforts of their own forces (army, navy, and air force, respectively).

A (Assumptions)—Paragraph 2: A policy (such as unconditional surrender) which is changed later is not a worthy enough policy for which to kill people. This is an interesting proposition to discuss. Could the policy have been worthy enough at one point, but not at a later point? Note that relevant information 5 is related to this question.

R (Reasoning)

- Generalization (Paragraph 10)—The sample of military leaders from paragraph 10, endnote 8 is impressive in that they are leaders from that time. It is only three leaders, however. What about the others? One could reasonably question whether the military was divided about whether to use the bomb. If there were military leaders in favor of using the bomb, this historian might be guilty of special pleading (p. 11, "Guide to Critical Thinking").
- Proof by Evidence (throughout)—The evidence presented brings up some interesting points. Some of the key pieces of evidence are presented by Secretary of War Stimson and Secretary of State Byrnes. If we assume for a moment that the evidence conclusively shows that Stimson and Byrnes were interested in the atomic bomb for diplomatic reasons, does this show that the bomb was dropped for diplomatic reasons? Not necessarily. There were many other advisers involved and President Truman seems to have been the final decision-maker (the buck stopped there). We need to know more about how important Stimson and Byrnes were to the actual decision, about the decision-making process, and about Truman's motives for dropping the bomb.

Other evidence seems to indicate that President Truman was tougher with the Russians after the bomb was successfully tested. This does not mean, however, that the primary motivation for dropping the bomb was diplomatic advantage over the Russians. Diplomatic advantage could have been an incidental benefit to be gained from a decision made for other, more important reasons (perhaps saving lives.)

- Cause and Effect—The evidence showing that American leaders wanted to stop Soviet expansion in Asia only provides a possible motive for dropping the atomic bombs on Japan. It does not show that the bombs were used primarily for diplomatic reasons. In fact, it does not really show that the bombs were used to stop Russian expansion at all—it only hints at it. There could be other, more important, causes for dropping the bombs.

ARMEAR Model

Analysis of Historian B

(Some ideas for discussion—this is a partial analysis.)

A (Author)—This author seems pro-American and is an American.

R (Relevant Information)—Relevant Information 2 lends some support to Historian B's argument in paragraph 8.

M (Main Point)—The United States was justified in dropping the atomic bombs on Japan.

E (Evidence)—The evidence in endnotes 2, 3, and 5 is from secondary sources. They will need to be checked for accuracy against primary evidence.

The evidence in endnote 8 is strong, since the United States leaders would have no reason to demand surrender unless they meant it. It is possible, however, that the American government was making different demands privately. (There is no evidence of this.)

The evidence in endnote 9 is weakened by the fact that it is a public statement and Suzuki might have a reason to distort. That is, the Japanese government might have felt that to keep morale up it had to say it would ignore demands for surrender.

A (Assumptions)—Paragraph 4: A policy which hurts a war effort should not be adopted. You might want to ask: Is protesting against a war which you feel is

HISTORIAN B

misguided wrong? Is it always wrong for a government official to question a policy during a war which he/she feels is wrong, even if it hurts the war effort? Just what helps or hurts war efforts?

R (Reasoning)

- Proof by Evidence (throughout)—The key question for proof by evidence is: Does the evidence prove the point? The evidence presented in paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 does make the reader question whether Japan was close to anything like unconditional surrender. Questions could still be raised on this point however. Was unconditional surrender really worth insisting on to the point of using atomic weapons? Does the information that the Japanese leaders were deadlocked really have any bearing on our decision to drop the bombs? After all, we did not know what they were saying in their meetings. We dropped the bombs without pursuing any negotiations with the Japanese. Is what they were thinking really relevant if we did not even talk with them?

  The evidence of the Interim Committee (paragraph 8) puts the opposition of some scientists to dropping the bomb into perspective by showing that other scientists were in favor of a military use of the bomb. It does not prove, however, that the bomb was not dropped for diplomatic reasons. Maybe the members of the Committee were thinking of the diplomatic advantages of the bomb when they decided that it was too risky to demonstrate the bomb to Japanese leaders.

  The evidence that we warned the Japanese (paragraph 9) is tricky. Students should note that in endnote 8 there is no mention of the words "atomic bomb" or "bomb." Did this message really warn the Japanese of what was to come?

- Proof by Eliminating Alternatives—The key question for proof by eliminating alternatives is: Are all the alternatives really eliminated? The eliminating-alternatives reasoning used in paragraph 6 might be restated: President Truman *could not* have rushed the dropping of the bombs to stop Russian entry into the war, since he did not control the dates of the bombings. This argument does make the reader think that stopping the Russians may not have been the highest priority. On the other hand, Truman may have made it clear that the bombs should be dropped as soon as possible, but left the exact days of the bombings to the military. The question at the end of paragraph 6 could be answered: Truman could get both unconditional surrender and the end of the war before Russia entered it by using the bombs.

The eliminating-alternatives reasoning in paragraph 7 is weak. The fact that we did not actually scare the Russians with the atomic bomb has no bearing on whether we intended to scare them with the bomb.

- Comparison—The key question for the comparison reasoning in paragraph 2 is: Are the two cases similar enough to make the conclusion a good one? The argument might be restated: Unconditional surrender would have made for a better peace at the end of World War I; therefore, it was needed at the end of World War II. The discussion of the similarities and differences between these two cases could be quite interesting.

GENERAL COMMENTS

Both historians engage in hypothetical reasoning, for example: "If the United States had not dropped the bombs, the Japanese would have surrendered soon anyway." In one sense this reasoning commits the fallacy of false scenario (p. 6, "Guide to Critical Thinking"). The issue of whether the United States was justified in dropping the atomic bombs, however, seems inextricably entwined with hypothetical reasoning. Thus, the evaluation of interpretations on the issue should include analysis of hypothetical reasoning based on the evidence presented that such-and-such would have happened if something else had happened. In short, how reasonably are the hypothetical results argued?

You might want to discuss with your students the whole philosophical question of hypothetical scenarios in history. Some historians have argued that econometric works, such as Robert Fogel's *Railroads and American Economic Growth*, are not real history, since they remove some element (railroads in this case) from history and then project what might have occurred without that element. Other historians argue that a great deal of history involves hypothetical reasoning by implication. Merely stating that something (like railroads) was a key factor in events (like economic growth) is by implication making a hypothetical argument. That is, it is arguing that, without that one element, present events would have been significantly different. It is an interesting question to discuss.

The issue of motivation (a type of cause) is a key factor in the analysis of the dropping of the atomic bombs. It is partly the elusiveness of pinning down the motivation of historical figures that has led to such different interpretations of this topic. You might want to discuss the question of motivation with your students.

Lesson 21: Who Primarily Caused the Cold War?

Objectives

To find the main idea
To recognize value claims and unstated assumptions
To evaluate evidence
To evaluate comparisons
To evaluate cause and effect
To identify fallacies—*ad hominem*, *post hoc*, false scenario, special pleading

Teaching Ideas

Start the lesson by having students read the overview of the Cold War and asking them questions to make sure they understand it.

As in Lesson 20, there are a number of ways to conduct the lesson. You could have small group debates on the question: Who was primarily responsible for starting the Cold War? Or you could have one large debate. Second, you could evaluate the viewpoints according to the ARMEAR model. Remind students that relevant information is included in the lesson (p. 115, Student Text). Third, you could have students make group reports on which viewpoint is stronger and why. All of these strategies are described in more detail in the teaching ideas section of the Teacher's Guide for Lesson 20 (p. 104).

Another option for this lesson is to have students read the two viewpoints and write the strengths and weaknesses of each. Then discuss these in small groups and as a class. The suggested answers section below gives some interesting points to raise for a discussion of strengths and weaknesses.

You could conclude the lesson by having students write an evaluation of one of the viewpoints or by having them write their own interpretation of the origins of the Cold War, either with or without outside research.

Suggested Answers
INTERPRETATION A

1. Paragraph 1—"Naively patriotic" is an *ad hominem* fallacy (p. 14, "Guide to Critical Thinking").
2. Paragraph 2—This paragraph makes the argument that a country is justified in taking an area as a sphere of influence in order to deter a possible future invasion. Is this justified? In all cases? See Lesson 18 for an example of evaluating value positions.

INTERPRETATION A

3. Paragraph 3—Comparison of the two spheres—Are they really similar? Interpretation B will argue that they are not.
4. Paragraph 4—The quote by Churchill (endnote 1) is strong evidence that an agreement was made. Did Churchill mean, however, that this agreement would set up spheres of influence after World War II?
5. Paragraph 6—Endnote 4 does not really support the contention that Bulgaria's elections were the freest in the country's history. The evidence says that there was the widest participation. We have to be skeptical since the evidence for "widest participation" comes from Molotov, who has a reason to distort and is not a primary source. The *New York Times* part of the evidence only says the elections were orderly. Elections in which soldiers force people to vote, and to vote a particular way, would both be orderly and have a high participation rate, but would not be free.
6. Paragraph 7—Endnote 5 is all by secondary sources. How did these historians learn that the Communists were popular and the elections were free?
7. Paragraph 8—Endnote 8 is strong in that Roosevelt has no reason to distort. We need to know more, however, about the context of Roosevelt's remarks. Also, what does he mean by the word "basis"?
8. Paragraph 9—Roosevelt's remarks may have prompted Stalin to think that American concern for eastern Europe was due to domestic politics in the United States. Roosevelt may not have believed what he said to Stalin. Roosevelt may have used the American voters of eastern European descent as an argument to get Stalin to agree to free elections. The President's main goal may really have been to secure free elections.
9. Paragraph 10—The summarizing statement that the three countries had reached "a series of agreements and understandings about the Soviet sphere of influence in eastern Europe" is not warranted from the previous arguments. Britain and Russia had an agreement about some countries in eastern Europe, and all three had an agreement on Poland. But the agreement on Poland declared the intent to carry out free elections and the Soviets did not do that. Several countries taken by the Soviets (such as Czechoslovakia) were not in any agreement.

10. Paragraph 11—There is no evidence that the possession of the atomic bomb was what caused President Truman to take the positions he did. Further, the comment that the Russians could "go to hell" is taken out of context. There could be any number of reasons why Truman said this. Relevant Information #1 shows a fuller context for the comment.

11. Paragraph 12—This is a *post hoc* fallacy (p. 6, "Guide to Critical Thinking"). The fact (which is also questionable) that the Soviets tightened their grip on eastern Europe after 1947 does not mean that they tightened it because of stronger American policy. Maybe the Soviets tightened up due to the failure of their own policy of flexibility in eastern Europe. The evidence of flexibility in eastern Europe, moreover, is sketchy and is challenged by contrary evidence by Interpretation B.

INTERPRETATION B

12. Paragraph 1—"Amazingly" indicates *ad hominem* arguing (p. 14, "Guide to Critical Thinking").

13. Paragraph 2—The weakness of Germany after World War II does not preclude Russian fear of her in the future. Interpretation B does nothing to prove that the Russians were not concerned about eastern Europe as a buffer to future German attacks.

14. Paragraph 3—Did Churchill (endnote 1) tell Stalin that "controlling interest" only applied to wartime?

15. Paragraph 4—The argument that the Russians "would have taken eastern Europe no matter what" could be looked at as a false scenario. The evidence presented, however, does support the charge.

16. Paragraph 5—The Soviet signature on the Declaration could be the most important issue, but that is a matter of opinion. Interpretation A has argued that Stalin may have viewed the Declaration as a public relations maneuver to please the eastern European voters in America.

17. Paragraph 7—These points show a side of the Polish question which Interpretation A failed to bring out—the fallacy of special pleading (p. 11, "Guide to Critical Thinking") by Interpretation A. On the other hand, Interpretation B likewise does not deal with the arguments and evidence that the Poles were responsible for the problems.

INTERPRETATION B

18. Paragraph 9—Interpretation B argues that there are significant differences between the spheres of influence of America and England and the sphere of influence of Russia in eastern Europe. A lot of the weight of this argument rests on the evidence in endnote 11, however. This only presents a study by Americans of political conditions in eastern Europe under the Soviets. We need more direct evidence than this.
19. Paragraph 10—The appeasement argument is a comparison. Are the two cases similar enough to justify this conclusion?

Lesson 22: Was the United States Right to Get Involved in the Vietnam War?

Objectives

To find the main idea
To recognize value claims and unstated assumptions
To evaluate evidence
To evaluate cause and effect
To evaluate comparisons
To evaluate generalizations
To evaluate debate reasoning
To evaluate proof by evidence
To relate relevant information to hypotheses

Teaching Ideas

The "Opinion Survey on War" is an optional exercise to begin the lesson. It will clarify value positions but will take some time to go through. Consider discussing only a few of the statements.

Have the students read the introduction and question them on it. This topic tends to be confusing to some students. Have them read the two viewpoints and fill in the question sheet. Then have them discuss their answers in small groups and, finally, as a class.

EXTENDING THE LESSON

An alternative procedure is to divide the class into seven groups and assign each group one of the questions below. The group has ten minutes to make an evaluation of each interpretation's argument on the question and write an answer to the question. Have each group report its conclusions to the class.

QUESTIONS

1. Was the United States right to help the French?
2. Were Diem and the United States justified in preventing the 1956 elections from being held?
3. What kind of leader was Ho Chi Minh?
4. Did the war against Diem's government originate in South Vietnam or North Vietnam?
5. Did military firepower (including bombing) bring the United States close to victory or cause American defeat?
6. What were the main reasons that American citizens opposed the war?
7. Should the United States have pushed harder for negotiations and a compromise settlement early in the war (in the 1950s and 1960s)?

Follow up with an essay assignment on the Vietnam War, either with or without further research required.

Suggested Answers

INTERPRETATION A

These are suggested answers to the question sheet.

1. There are many possible ways to state the main point of Interpretation A. One suggestion is: The United States was wrong to get involved in the Vietnam War, a war which destroyed much of Vietnamese society.

2. Comparison reasoning

   Many reasonable answers could be given. The author is making the point that Washington was popular because he was the leader of an independence movement. Since Ho was also the leader of an independence movement, he must also have been popular. Are there significant differences between the two cases?

3. The evidence in endnote 5

   P—Primary, it is from that time period

   R—No apparent reason to distort

   O—No other evidence is supporting

   P—Private

   The CIA's lack of reason to distort lends credibility to this evidence. It seems that the Vietminh probably would have won the scheduled election. One thing we would like to know is the context of the evidence.

4. 1956 Election—One possible answer

   Premise—The Vietminh were promised a nationwide election in the Geneva Agreement, but Diem and the United States prevented the election from taking place.

   Premise—Those who break agreements are wrong.

   Conclusion—The United States and Diem were wrong in the Vietnam War.

5. There are several possible weaknesses in this line of reasoning.

   —Diem and the United States did not sign the agreement on elections.

   —There may be some cases when breaking an agreement is not wrong.

6. Cause-and-effect reasoning

   The students must identify the cause (Diem's policies) and the effect (war between the Vietcong and Diem). Then they have to assess how well the author shows the connection between the cause and the effect. Interpretation A argues that many South Vietnamese hated Diem's policies and implies that rebellion grew out of this hatred. One question we could ask is: How do we know that some other factor (like infiltration from North Vietnam) was not more important as a cause of the guerrilla war?

7. Sample reasoning

   "Large numbers of innocent civilians were killed by American soldiers."

   Evaluation: The evidence used to support this refers to number of civilians killed compared to number of Vietcong killed. "Large numbers" of civilians would have been killed if large numbers of Vietcong were also killed (which is probably true).

8. Possible weakness

   One *New York Times* article does not provide proof that the Administration "continually lied to the American people."

INTERPRETATION B

9. Main point of Interpretation B: (one possible answer)

   The tragedy of the Vietnam War is not that the United States fought, but that it did not fight to win.

10. Reasoning

    Debating

11. Evidence in paragraph 4, endnote 1

    It is a secondary source. From where did this author get this idea? We have to see some evidence from the participants at Geneva before we accept this argument.

12. The key to paragraph 6 is the evidence for North Vietnamese control of the war given in endnote 4. If the evidence is weak, the argument is weak; if strong, the argument is strong. The evidence is primary and there are three statements which corroborate each other. Defectors may, however, have a reason to distort about their former group.

INTERPRETATION B

13. Assumption

Military leaders are better at plotting strategy in war than are civilian leaders.

14. Proof by evidence

The students must decide whether the evidence proves the argument made by Interpretation B. This evidence lends support to the argument that the Vietcong were decimated in the Tet Offensive, but it does not prove it. Maybe the Vietcong deliberately reduced the number of their attacks to prepare for another offensive.

15. The evidence for the executions at Hue is strong. Even though there is no corroborating evidence, the captured Vietcong document is primary, private, and its authors have no reason to distort.

16. Argument in paragraph 14

This is an interesting argument. When a side in a war decides to attack through conventional invasion, does that mean that side was losing its guerrilla war?

RELEVANT INFORMATION

17. Relevant Information—Possible answers

#1 favors Interpretation B; #2 favors Interpretation A; #3 favors Interpretation B; #4 gives support to both viewpoints; #5 favors Interpretation A

UNIT 5
MODERN AMERICAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS

Lesson 23: Evaluating Evidence on McCarthyism and the Red Scare

Objectives

To evaluate evidence

Teaching Ideas

This is a reinforcement lesson on evaluating evidence (see lessons 2, 10, and 17). Students should fill in strengths and weaknesses, discuss answers in small groups, if appropriate, and then discuss as a class.

Suggested Answers

1. McCarthy speech

STRENGTHS

- McCarthy has supporting evidence (O) for his claim that there were Communists in government.

WEAKNESSES

- McCarthy is not a primary source (P); he has a reason to lie (R) to help his political career; and it is a public statement. Actually McCarthy did not have a list at all. He had a letter with some numbers in it.

2. Roy Cohn

STRENGTHS

- Cohn is a primary source (P).

WEAKNESSES

- Cohn has a reason to lie (R) to defend his boss; there is no other (O) evidence; and it is a public statement.

3. Lunch discussion

STRENGTHS

- The three men are primary sources (P); they verify each others' (O) stories; and it is difficult to believe they made the story up (R) since they were friends of McCarthy and since the story does not seem to help them in any way.

WEAKNESSES

- It is a public statement (P).

4. Book

STRENGTHS

- Leuchtenburg has no reason to lie (R) as far as we can tell, except that most writers and historians do not like McCarthy, so Leuchtenburg might be prejudiced.

WEAKNESSES

- It is not a primary source (P); there is no other (O) evidence supporting this claim; and it is a public statement.

5. Earl Browder

STRENGTHS
- Browder is a primary source (P) regarding who he did or did not talk to.

WEAKNESSES
- Browder gives no other (O) evidence to support his claim; it is a public statement; and either Browder or Lattimore is lying (R), unless Browder forgot about the meeting. It is hard to believe that Lattimore made up the story about meeting Browder. On the other hand, Browder has great incentive to lie. If Lattimore was in the Communist Party, Browder would want to show that he was not. Students should remember that Browder, as a Communist, may have qualms about sticking to the rules of telling the truth under oath, when those rules were made by a system he is pledged to overthrow. It is very likely that Browder is lying.

6. Letter

STRENGTHS
- It is a primary source (P); there is no reason to lie (R); and it is private (P).

WEAKNESSES
- There is no other (O) evidence supporting the letter.

SUMMARY
- This is very strong evidence, since Lattimore incriminates himself in it. He did not know anyone else would read it. Lattimore was convicted of perjury (lying under oath) for his previous statement after this letter was presented.

7. Whittaker Chambers

STRENGTHS
- Chambers might be a primary source (P), but it is unclear whether he knew Hiss personally.

WEAKNESSES
- Chambers has a reason to lie (R) to gain public acclaim by turning in a Communist during a time of fear of Communism; he presents no other (O) evidence to support his claim; and it is a public statement.

Lesson 24: Analyzing Cause and Effect on Urban Riots

Objectives

To evaluate cause and effect

Teaching Ideas

Begin the lesson by having students fill in the table, predicting where riots will occur. Have students discuss their answers in small groups. Bring the class back together and ask for a show of hands to see how many students feel there would be a riot in each of the four situations. Then read the actual results of each situation in the Suggested Answers. The point is that you cannot always predict dramatic events based on the information you have.

Tell the students to look back at the situations on the handout and the reasons for their choices. Have them work in small groups to make lists of the factors which contributed to riots in the 1960s. Bring the class back together, ask the groups to read their lists, and write the factors on the blackboard. (Many factors could be listed, but emphasize the following: police-crowd antagonism; high unemployment; frustration; white owners of businesses in black ghettoes; good weather, generally in the summer; political group involvement.)

Now you can switch to either the section on cause and effect or the National Commission report. The list of possible causes generated from the table will be helpful in evaluating the National Commission's argument.

For the section on cause and effect, have the students fill in which argument is strongest (question 5), have them discuss their answers in small groups, and then discuss as a class. Use the same procedure for the questions on the Commission's report.

Suggested Answers

SITUATIONS

The answers are the actual results; riots occurred in situations 1, 3, and 4. Some rioting occurred in situation 2, but it was not a full-scale riot.

SITUATION 1

- A fifteen-year-old black youth attacked the policeman with a knife. The officer shot and killed the boy. The next day the Progressive Labor Movement, a Marxist-Leninist organization, passed out leaflets charging the police with brutality. The following day the Congress on Racial Equality, a civil rights organization, marched on the police station where the crowd clashed with police. Full-scale rioting followed.

Situation 2

- A crowd gathered in front of the store, broke the store windows, and threw rocks at passing cars. The next day the store was set on fire by a Molotov cocktail. Several persons were injured, but order was restored.

Situation 3

- A crowd of black spectators gathered and more police officers arrived at the scene. Full scale rioting resulted for two nights.

Situation 4

- A crowd gathered and more police were called to the scene. A young black woman, who was accused of spitting on the police, was dragged by police into the street. After the police left, the crowd started throwing rocks at cars, beating up motorists, and setting cars on fire. Community leaders were not able to restore calm. The next day large crowds, opposed by only a few police, destroyed white property in Watts, a business district two miles from the location of the original incident. The National Guard was called in. The result of the riot was 34 people killed, hundreds wounded, and $35 million in damage.

Connection

5. Connecting cause and effect

Based on the criterion of connecting poverty (the proposed cause) to the riots (the effect), the best argument is B. This argument connects poverty to frustration and desire for consumer goods, which provide a motive for rioting. In addition, it connects poverty to unemployment, which leads to a bored, frustrated crowd, which connects to rioting.

Historian A explains how poverty leads to hopelessness, which could, in fact, be the main cause of the riots. We would like to see more explanation of how hopelessness would lead to rioting. The information on Watts and Detroit is irrelevant to proving poverty as the main cause.

Historian C describes poverty in more detail than the other two but does not explain how the resulting frustration led to the riots.

National Commission Report

6. The Commission felt that American society in general was responsible for the poverty of the ghetto, and the poverty and conditions led to the riots. Students should question the connection between poverty and the riots. The connection is reasonable but students might argue that it should be explained more fully (which it was in the 250,000 word report).

From the list of possible causes generated in the first section, students should mention other possible causes for riots.

7. Riots can be stopped by ending racial discrimination and segregation. The commission also implied that the problems or riots would not be ended until the problems of poverty, hopelessness, and unemployment in the ghettos were solved.

Student opinions of these recommendations will vary.

Lesson 25: Identifying and Evaluating Types of Reasoning

Objectives

To identify and evaluate cause and effect
To identify and evaluate generalizations
To identify and evaluate comparisons
To identify and evaluate proof by evidence
To identify and evaluate proof by eliminating alternatives

Teaching Ideas

Have students fill in the answers individually and share their answers in small groups where they can help one another. Discuss their answers as a class. Since there are several types of reasoning possible for some items, listen for the reasons behind student answers.

Suggested Answers

1. Superintendent letter
   - TYPE: Comparison
   - EVALUATION: There are very significant differences between following union leaders in a strike and following political leaders in genocide. This is a very poor analogy.
2. Borrowed the bike
   - TYPE: Proof by eliminating alternatives
   - EVALUATION: We need to be sure that Christine and Leanne really are the only ones who can ride the bike, and that Leanne really could not have borrowed it all day.
3. President Eisenhower
   - TYPE: Cause and effect; generalization
   - EVALUATION: There is a reasonable connection between public opinion and changing his views, but it needs to be explained more fully. Also, there are other possible causes (such as the Democrats controlled Congress, so he was forced to compromise).
4. McCarthy's charges
   - TYPE: Proof by evidence; generalization
   - EVALUATION: The argument assumes that the firing of people McCarthy accused is evidence that they were security risks and McCarthy was right to accuse them. Actually, it might be that McCarthy's charges themselves caused the people to be fired (cause and effect).

5. Welfare length

Type
- Generalization

Evaluation
- *Time* probably got the information from the government department which runs welfare. We do not know how large or representative the sample is.

6. Governor Faubus

Type
- Cause and effect

Evaluation
- Both of the causes mentioned make sense in connecting the opposition to integration. Also, the argument considers several causes. There are, however, other possible causes; for example, maybe he really believed integration was a bad policy at that time.

7. Stock crash of 1987

Type
- Comparison; cause and effect

Evaluation
- There are some important differences between 1929 and 1987. For example, the Securities and Exchange Commission is supposed to prevent stock fraud and abuses such as buying on margin; the FDIC insures bank deposits; and the government pays benefits to unemployed people.

8. Environmental statement

Type
- Comparison

Evaluation
- Corporate pollution seems as bad as or worse than human pollution. One minor difference might be that we prevent individuals from relieving themselves in public areas for reasons of privacy.

9. 1968 election

Type
- Generalization; proof by evidence

Evaluation
- It is a complete sample so it is a very strong generalization.

10. Welfare benefits

Type
- Comparison

Evaluation
- The cost of living was much higher in Alaska than it was in Alabama in 1987. Students may not know about cost of living, but they should at least ask about such differences.

Lesson 26: Types of Reasoning about Civil Rights

Objectives

To identify and evaluate cause and effect
To identify generalizations
To identify and evaluate comparisons
To identify proof by evidence
To identify proof by authority
To identify irrelevant-proof fallacy

Teaching Ideas

This is intended to be a short reinforcement lesson on types of reasoning. Have students fill in the answers individually, share their answers in small groups and discuss as a class. You can shorten the lesson by skipping the small group step.

Suggested Answers

"BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION"

1. Separate schools violate the equal protection clause (they are unconstitutional).
2. C
3. B
4. C
5. B

SOUTHERN MANIFESTO

6. D
7. C How many is case after case? How many cases did they sample?
8. B
9. Some historians argue that the Manifesto encouraged resistance to integration, including violent resistance. When students give their answers, ask other students to evaluate their causal reasoning. They will have to remember the evaluation questions: Is there a good connection? Are there other possible causes?

MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

10. C
11. B
12. There seems to be a logical connection between the boycott and the bus company almost going bankrupt, since the company would lose a lot of money without most of its riders. There might be other causes for bankruptcy, such as poor management, but the boycott was likely the main cause.

KING AND GANDHI

13. A

14. The arguer shows one way that the two men were similar, and this similarity is important. There are differences in culture, geography, leadership, and personality to take into consideration if the person extended the argument to say that nonviolent resistance was the main reason for King's success (as with Gandhi).

PROFESSOR CLEMENS

15. E

Lesson 27: Why Did Blacks Have Less Upward Mobility Than Immigrants in Boston from 1880 to 1970?

Objectives

To evaluate cause and effect
To relate relevant information to hypotheses

Teaching Ideas

Have students read the overview and ask them questions about social class, mobility, white collar and blue collar jobs. Ask them why they think blacks had lower mobility than immigrants, and write their hypotheses on the chalkboard.

After students read the historians, go over the tables with them, explaining areas that might be difficult. For example, Table 1 deals with housing segregation. If all the Italians lived in one neighborhood, they would be highly segregated, getting a score of 100. If they were spread evenly throughout the city, then they would get a very low number, say 11.

As students work through the tables, you will have to circulate around the room to help students who have questions.

After students have filled in the evaluation chart for the historians, have them discuss their answers in groups of three, then discuss them as a class.

You can make the lesson less difficult by cueing students to look at specific tables or information for each of the interpretations. For example, tell students to look at Table 4 for Theory A. See the Suggested Answers for suggestions of which tables or information go with which viewpoints.

Suggested Answers

THEORY A

Theory A's argument is weakened by Table 4, which shows that Northern blacks did no better than those from the South.

THEORY B

Theory B's argument is strengthened by Table 10 and information 12. None of the information weakens this view.

THEORY C

Theory C's argument is weakened by Table 2, which shows that blacks went to school as much as whites, and blacks went to school more than some immigrant groups but got worse jobs.

THEORY D

Theory D's view is weakened by Tables 1 and 5. These tables show that a highly geographically segregated group (Jewish immigrants) did well occupationally, while a largely geographically non-segregated group (Irish immigrants) did poorly. Thus, geographic segregation could not be a deciding factor in job mobility.

THEORY E

Theory E's view is weakened by Tables 2, 9, and 11. Tables 9 and 11 cast doubt upon, but do not disprove, the assumption that blacks had larger families. If blacks had fewer children in 1960, and if the infant mortality for blacks was higher in 1900, then it is questionable whether blacks had larger families. Table 2 shows that blacks went to school as much as whites but got worse jobs.

THEORY F

Theory F's view is weakened by Tables 2, 3, and 6 and information 13 and 14. Tables 3 and 6 show that in 1880 blacks had more stable families than the Irish but got worse jobs. Information 13 and 14 show that in 1960 blacks had the same percentage of broken families as whites, but got worse jobs. Table 2 makes us question the argument that family instability leads to lower educational achievement. Why did blacks stay in school longer if they did not do as well?

THEORY G

Theory G's view is weakened by Tables 4 and 10 and by information 12. Table 4 shows that blacks came from many backgrounds. Even blacks from overseas did poorly in the job market compared to non-blacks. Foreign blacks who did not experience slavery had different cultures from American blacks. The increase in semi-skilled jobs for blacks in 1940 suggests that when labor was needed (as in World War II) then black culture did not stand in the way of blacks getting jobs.

SUMMARY

Overall, Theory B's interpretation is strongest, based on the information presented in this lesson.

Lesson 28: What Are the Causes and Effects of More Women Working Outside the Home?

Objectives

To identify and evaluate cause and effect
To identify the correlation-as-cause fallacy
To relate relevant information to hypotheses

Teaching Ideas

Have the students answer the first two questions about possible causes and effects of more women working outside the home and write their answers on the chalkboard. Their answers will help students see causes other than the ones proposed in the lesson.

Continue by having students proceed through Part II of the lesson, answering the questions by referring to the tables. The general question of discrimination against females should generate some differences of opinion in the class.

After Part II is discussed, have students revise their hypotheses by examining the tables (and graph) in Part III. Question students about their causal reasoning.

Suggested Answers

Part II

HISTORIAN A

1. Table 1
2. Table 3
3. Cause and effect—The argument is that women working causes divorce.
4. Correlation as cause—A (women working) and B (divorce) went up at the same time, so A caused B. It is just as likely that B (divorce) caused A (more women had to work to support themselves).
5. Information that women's participation in the labor force significantly increased before the divorce rate increased or evidence showing that particular divorces were due to wives working would strengthen Historian A. Can this type of evidence be found?

HISTORIAN B

6. Table 3 (births per 1,000 population is decreasing)
7. Cause and effect—Smaller families have caused (one cause) more women to work.
8. This argument has the same weakness that Historian A's argument has. It commits the correlation-as-cause fallacy (p. 6, "Guide to Critical Thinking").

We need more information that would show the connection between the supposed cause and the effect. Without more information we could as easily conclude that more women working outside the home led to smaller families. A comparison of tables 1 and 3 also shows that the correlation is not uniform. In 1950 and 1960 the number of births was *higher* while women were working. This suggests that other factors are involved.

HISTORIAN C

9. Table 2
10. Table 2 supports the argument. The table shows that women's earnings have actually fallen as a percentage of men's earnings.

HISTORIAN D

11. Table 4 tends to weaken the argument since it shows that a major reason women earn less than men is that they work fewer years. There are fewer women working in the seniority positions. In occupations where pay rises mainly with seniority (years of experience), women will get a lower salary. The problem is compounded because when women leave the workforce to raise children they often return to different positions where their previous years of service do not count.

    On the other hand, Table 4 (in conjunction with Table 2) could be seen to support the argument in that as women have worked a higher percentage of years compared to men, their pay has dropped compared to men! This could show discrimination.
12. Women more often quit their jobs to raise children.
13. As explained above, women might receive lower pay due to the hiatus in many women's working career to raise children. It could, however, be due to a number of other factors. After divorce, many women are forced to work while they also have custody of the children. This forces them into working only certain hours which translates into lower paying occupations and part-time employment.

Part III

WHY MORE WOMEN WORK

A. Possible causes from the tables

—Smaller families (Table 5)

—Antidiscrimination laws and affirmative action—possibly shown in the higher percentage of women in the professional category (Table 6)

—Change in attitude about mothers working (Table 7)

—More married women working as second incomes to their working husband (Table 8)

EFFECTS OF WOMEN WORKING

B. The list could be much longer—students should generate a lot of effects.

—Women have less leisure time (since they seem to be doing the same amount of household work on top of their paid employment—Graph 9)

—Women may have more self-esteem from working

—Children have less supervision

—Men may take traditional female roles

—Women may have more stress (possibly smoke more)

—Less economic domination by men

WHY WOMEN RECEIVE LOWER PAY

C. Possible causes

—Despite some advances by women into traditionally male occupations, such as management and highly paid professions, most are funneled into traditional female service jobs (Table 10). The implication is that discrimination causes it. Notice how this information supports Historian D's claim by offering a different perspective than Table 4.

—Table 6 also shows that, despite gains in the area of management, women increased dramatically in clerical, sales, and manual jobs.

—It may be that women working for second incomes will accept lower pay because their pay is additional, not central to the family's survival. Women in this situation are also more likely to work part time, which translates into lower hourly rates and few, if any, benefits.

—Divorced women may be forced suddenly into the role of breadwinner without time to plan a career. These women may be forced into lower paying, less desirable jobs. This effect of divorce is an important factor in the "feminization of poverty"—an increasingly higher percentage of the poor are women and children.

Lesson 29: Was the Kennedy Assassination a Conspiracy?

Objectives

To evaluate evidence
To evaluate cause and effect

Teaching Ideas

One way to use this lesson is to have students read both viewpoints and write down which viewpoint they agree with and why. Then either have students debate which view is stronger or discuss the two viewpoints as a class. In either case, the strengths and weaknesses of evidence should emerge.

A second method is to have students read only Interpretation A and have students write down whether they are convinced by it. Most students should be convinced. Ask them why and then ask them to anticipate arguments that Interpretation B might make.

A good way to follow up is to have students research the event further and draw new conclusions based on their research.

Selected Analyses

Interpretation A

The evidence in paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 is all circumstantial—it does not really show there was a conspiracy. The best evidence is from Rose Sharime. But we would prefer more than one source on the Ruby-Oswald connection.

The evidence in paragraph 5 that the shots were too close together in time is impressive, but Interpretation B will explain that one "magic bullet" caused several wounds simultaneously.

One point that Interpretation B does not refute is the pristine condition of the magic bullet (paragraph 7).

It seems logical that the head should have gone forward and the test confirms it.

The large number of eyewitnesses (paragraph 9) who say they heard shots and saw smoke coming from the grassy knoll are important and not refuted by Interpretation B.

The argument in paragraph 10 is highly speculative. There "could" have been surgery done; there is no hard evidence that surgery was done. The surgery would have had to fool the doctors at Bethesda into believing that it was a bullet wound.

Interpretation B

The evidence in paragraph 2 that Jack Ruby was at the police station at the right time by chance certainly weakens the argument of Ruby killing Oswald as a Mafia hit. But who knows exactly what happened? Maybe Ruby was there earlier and decided to leave and come back. Maybe he planned to kill Oswald later but saw a good opportunity and took it.

The evidence in paragraph 3 is very important. If there was another assassin, where are the bullet fragments from the other's weapon?

The evidence in paragraph 5 shows that the magic bullet could have inflicted all those wounds, but it does not prove that it did. Interpretation B does not account for the pristine nature of the bullet, it just argues that it is less likely to be damaged if slowed down (paragraph 6).

The evidence in paragraph 8 is also very important, showing the entrance wounds from the rear. How can the grassy knoll adherents respond to this evidence?

Paragraph 10 provides a test with the very opposite results from the test explained in Interpretation A. Unless we know more about the tests, or have them redone, we cannot make a decision about the results.

Interpretation B (paragraph 11) weakens a couple of points on the grassy knoll but ignores the numerous eyewitness accounts supporting shots and smoke coming from there. It is important to point out this omission to your students.

The evidence provided by Interpretation B in paragraphs 3 (bullet fragments only from Oswald's rifle) and 8 (entrance wounds from the rear) are very strong. You might want to assign students to find out how supporters of the conspiracy view, such as David Lifton, deal with these points.

Test Questions

Part I—Individual Skills

Q Label each item below with the appropriate letter.

S A **source** of information is given.

N **No** source of information is given.

_______1. Richard Nixon defeated George McGovern in the 1972 Presidential Election.

_______2. The United States and the Soviet Union both rely on the strategy of deterrence to prevent a nuclear attack.

_______3. Lyndon Johnson defeated Barry Goldwater in the 1964 Election because Goldwater appeared to many voters to be too radical, according to William E. Leuchtenburg in *The Unfinished Century: America Since 1900.*

_______4. Four students were killed and eleven wounded when Ohio National Guardsmen opened fire on them on May 4, 1970, at Kent State University.

Q Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the following pieces of evidence. Remember the four criteria for evaluating evidence.

—President Nixon told the newspapers he did not try to protect himself by covering up the Watergate Scandal.

5. Strengths:

6. Weaknesses:

—John Dean testified to a congressional investigating committee that President Nixon was involved in covering up the Watergate Scandal. Dean said that Nixon paid money to the burglars to keep them quiet. Dean was Nixon's legal counsel (Nixon's lawyer).

7. Strengths:

8. Weaknesses:

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—The tape recordings of conversations which President Nixon made for his own use in writing his memoirs (the other people in the White House did not know that their conversations with the President were being taped) contain statements by Nixon that money should be paid to the men caught in the Watergate burglary so that the men would not tell that the Nixon Reelection Committee was involved in the scandal.

9. Strengths:

10. Weaknesses:

—Historian Winthrop Jordan said in his book *The United States* that by 1980 most Americans viewed Jimmy Carter as a weak, indecisive, and ineffective president.

11. Strengths:

12. Weaknesses:

—Seven people testified under oath that they saw Sacco at the scene of the murder for which Sacco and Vanzetti were being tried.

13. Strengths:

14. Weaknesses:

Q Evaluate the following cause-and-effect arguments.

15. The 1964 tax cut was a brilliant success. In the next year and a half consumer

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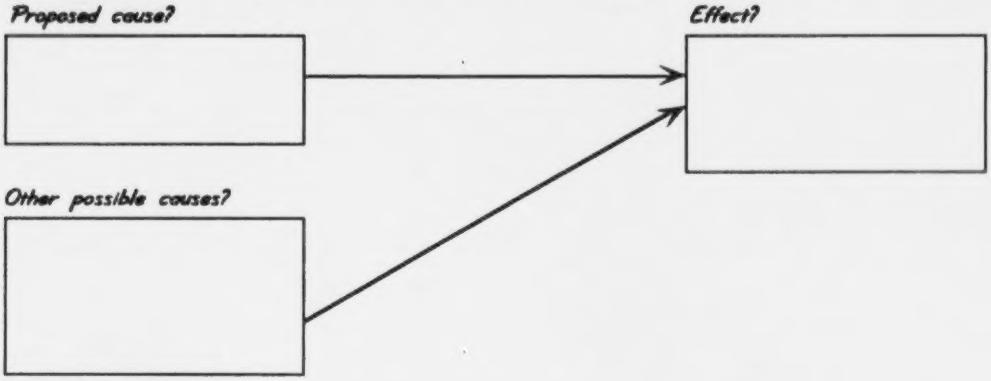
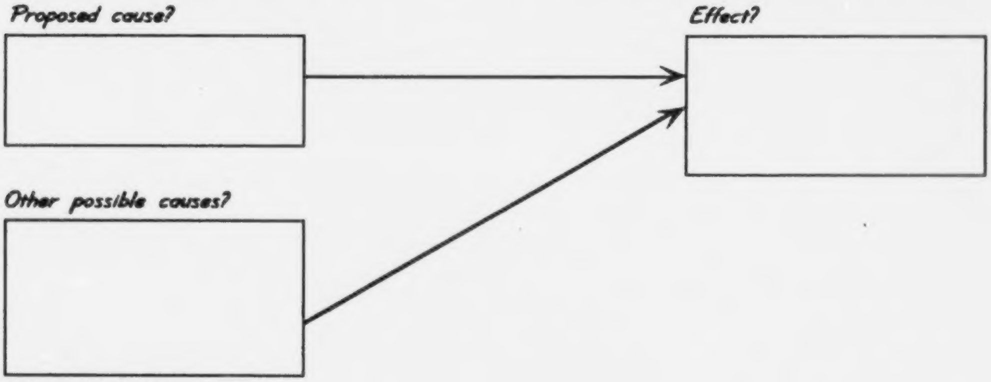
spending, with the extra money left over from taxes, rose dramatically. Consequently, the gross national product soared and the government actually took in more money (a lower tax rate but on higher incomes).


Proposed cause?
Effect?
Other possible causes?

Overall judgment:

16. The controversial and violent 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago divided the Democratic Party and paved the way for the Republican victory.


Proposed cause?
Effect?
Other possible causes?

Overall judgment:

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Q Evaluate the following generalizations:

17. Only 52 percent of the eligible voters actually voted in the 1980 Election. This was a new low in voter turnout.

18. John says that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone in assassinating President Kennedy. Bill responds, "Most people know the assassination was a conspiracy." (Evaluate Bill's statement as a generalization.)

Q Evaluate the following comparisons:

19. Americans were much better off economically in 1960 than they had been at the end of World War II. The Gross National Product more than doubled from $213.6 billion in 1945 to $503.7 billion in 1960.

20. Getting involved in El Salvador would be a big mistake. It will turn into another Vietnam.

Q Identify the unstated assumption in each of the following.

"The New Deal programs were radical. After all, look at all the programs to help the unemployed and poor at the expense of the taxpayers."

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_____21. What is the assumption in this argument?

A. All government programs are radical.
B. The New Deal was a failure.
C. Government programs to help the poor at the expense of the taxpayers are radical.
D. The government should not have programs.

"Getting off the Gold Standard in the 1930s was a big mistake which hurt our economy. After all, staying on the Gold Standard helps keep the supply of money stable, which, in the long run, prevents inflation."

_____22. What is the assumption?

A. The Gold Standard made us prosperous in the 1920s.
B. A stable supply of money is an important factor in having a good economy.
C. When the economy is weak, the supply of money is not stable.
D. Staying on the Gold Standard helps international trade.

Q Identify the type of reasoning (write the correct letter) and evaluate it in each of the following arguments.

Types of Reasoning

A. Cause and Effect
B. Generalization
C. Comparison
D. Proof by Authority

Reporter—(To one of the crew of the *Columbia* shuttle before its second trip.) "Isn't being in the shuttle for the second trip more dangerous? After all, it's a used spaceship now."

Astronaut—"No, it isn't more dangerous. It's like a new car that has been driven around the block. Now the bugs have been worked out of it."

_____23. Type of Reasoning by the Astronaut

24. Evaluation:

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"By 1936 the New Deal helped the country to begin to recover from the Great Depression. National income had risen from $47 billion in 1932 to $70 billion in 1936, while industrial production had doubled in the same time period. Unemployment fell from 12 million in 1932 to 9 million in 1936."

_____25. Type of Reasoning

26. Evaluation:

"The reason the United States got into World War I was because German submarines sank our ships."

_____27. Type of Reasoning

28. Evaluation:

(A statement by a person on the issue of tuition tax credits, [public assistance] to families who send their children to private schools.) "If you want to join a private country club, as opposed to a public one, that is your privilege. But, you don't expect your neighbor to foot the bill. Why should those who decide to send their children to private schools rather than public ones receive assistance from their neighbors?"

_____29. Type of Reasoning

30. Evaluation:

"In 1932 we elected the Democrat Roosevelt and during his administration we got into World War II. Then we had the Democrat Truman and the Korean War. In the 1960s we had the Democrats Kennedy and Johnson and wound up in the Vietnam War. Can we afford another Democrat?"

_____31. Type of Reasoning

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32. Evaluation:

"The United States could have stayed out of World War I much longer if we had an embargo on goods shipped to England and Germany. After all, when we did that under similar circumstances in the early 1800s we stayed out of the War of 1812 for five years longer."

_____33. Type of Reasoning

34. Evaluation:

"The main reason for the Great Depression was the uneven distribution of wealth in the 1920s. Most people prospered in the 1920s, but rich people prospered more. In 1929 rich people had a higher percentage of the total wealth of the country than they had in 1920. Since the poorer classes did not have as much money as they could otherwise have had, these poorer people couldn't buy the surplus goods that were produced. The country was left with overproduction which plunged it into the depression."

_____35. Type of Reasoning

36. Evaluation:

Q Identify the type of reasoning in each of the following by writing the letter of the appropriate answer on the line.

A. Cause and Effect
B. Generalization
C. Comparison
D. Proof by Authority

_____37. John F. Kennedy, being a Catholic, was the Al Smith of the 1960s.

_____38. The race riots of the 1960s were instigated by outside agitators who got blacks angry at whites.

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_____39. "I checked on your theory that the New Deal was a communist conspiracy. Frank Friedel, a noted expert on the New Deal says that there were few communists in the New Deal, and that few programs were designed to communize the economy."

_____40. Crowds at sporting events were larger in the 1920s than previously.

_____41. John F. Kennedy was influenced to take a strong stand to reduce poverty by his experiences in the West Virginia primary campaign and by reading *The Other America* by Michael Harrington.

Part II Mixed Problems

Q Read the following interpretation of the United States entry into World War I and answer questions 42–48 based on the interpretation.

Historian Z (1934)

(1) The reasons for the United States decision to go to war in April 1917 were many. The most important of these, however, was the attitude of mind in this country—the product of British propaganda. People under the influence of the propaganda came to look upon the struggle of 1914–1918 as a simple conflict between the forces of good and evil. In the minds of American leaders there developed a blind hatred of everything German. After this hatred had destroyed American neutrality, it created a willingness to sacrifice American youth in a war that attempted to punish the hated nation.

(2) The propaganda influenced President Wilson to such an extent that he overcame the American desire for peace with his own desire for a British-French victory. It caused him to be unneutral until it was too late for him to exert pressure to bring about a just peace.

(3) In order to remove the causes for German submarine warfare, some Americans wanted pressure exerted on Great Britain to force her to relax the illegal blockade of the Central Powers (Germany's side). Wilson, however, refused to do anything which would embarrass the Allies (Britain and France, mainly). Many Americans wanted an embargo on munitions; Wilson objected. Secretary of State Bryan prohibited (prevented) loans to the warring nations; Wilson personally defeated the measure. The President's partisanship was so apparent that even the British stated: "During the period while America was neutral all the issues in dispute between England and America were decided as England wished."

(4) The public was told that the argument with Great Britain about freedom of the seas was concerned with property while that with Germany was concerned with lives. This served to hide the actual claims on the part of Mr. Wilson which today seem almost fantastic. The issue was not the right of Americans to travel on American ships in peaceful waters. And no Americans were killed on American ships prior to February 1917 under circumstances which would have justified war. What he was insist-

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Historian Z

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ing on, at the price of war, was the right of Americans to travel in the war zone (1) on foreign ships of belligerent nationality (British ships), (2) on foreign ships which were armed, and (3) on foreign ships carrying munitions and other supplies of war. Wilson never compromised on these rights. Once Wilson got us into the war he justified it not as a defense of freedom of the seas, but as a great crusade to end all wars.

(5) In the last analysis the American government was forced to join the Allies in 1917 because it had already surrendered to them its material, diplomatic, and moral support. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland refrained from such unneutral conduct and, in spite of the fact that they suffered a great deal more than did this country, they escaped becoming involved.

(6) Certainly if the United States had imitated the self-restraint of these other countries, she also could have remained in peace. The reason she did not act in the same way was because of the tremendously effective British propaganda campaign. In Europe the agents of British propaganda had to compete with the propagandists of Germany and the other Central Powers. In the United States, however, they had a free field. This climate of opinion influenced finance, industry, and government.

(7) To some, the history of the "neutrality" period demonstrates that the United States cannot keep out of war. But the facts do not bear out any such contention. What it does prove is that it is impossible to be unneutral and keep out of war.

_____42. What is the main point of this argument?

A. British propaganda was wrong.

B. President Wilson was not really neutral—he insisted on ridiculous rights for Americans.

C. British propaganda pushed America into the war.

D. The United States should have given more support to Germany and the other Central Powers.

_____43. What is an *unstated* assumption in the argument?

A. Propaganda can influence a country to take unneutral actions.

B. The British had a free field to use propaganda in the United States.

C. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland were all able to remain neutral during the war.

D. Presidents should insist on citizens' rights.

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Q What type of reasoning is used in each of the following sentences or quoted phrases from the argument?

A. Sample
B. Comparison
C. Cause and Effect
D. Proof by Example

_____44. "The mind of this country" hated Germany.

_____45. American attitudes toward Germany were the product of British propaganda.

_____46. "Many Americans wanted an embargo."

Q Consider the Evidence

_____47. In which sentence is evidence presented?

_____48. Which of the following pieces of information best supports Historian Z's argument?

A. American bankers loaned money to England to invest their money profitably.
B. Secretary of State Bryan was opposed to loaning money to England.
C. President Wilson was outraged by German acts of inhumanity in Belgium. The events in Belgium were reported by British agents and correspondents.
D. President Wilson was very upset when Americans were killed on British ships. These ships were sunk by German U–boats.

Q Identify Points of View

"By the 1930s, the United States was almost the only advanced country in the world which did not have social welfare programs to protect its citizens against unemployment or other disasters. While millions of families were destitute in the early 1930s, the government seemed indifferent to their problems. President Roosevelt was determined to do something to end this neglect. Under the New Deal, he started a long overdue unemployment insurance program and a pension plan for people over 65."

_____49. This historian is most likely:

A. Favorable to Roosevelt
B. Unfavorable to Roosevelt
C. Neutral regarding Roosevelt
D. Has no opinion regarding Roosevelt

[Continued on next page.]

[Continued from previous page.]

_____50. What is an assumption in this view?

A. The government usually messes things up.
B. Poor people should be helped by the government.
C. Government help for the destitute helps economic growth.
D. The United States government could not afford to help the poor through social welfare programs before the 1930s.

TEST QUESTION ANSWERS

Teaching Ideas

You can use the test questions as they are written or you can cut parts out (such as the multiple choice options) to make them more challenging. You could also present the argument (Historian Z on World War I) in Part II without the questions and instruct students to evaluate it.

An alternate method of evaluation is to have students write essays responding to or evaluating any of the historical interpretations (Historian A or B in the various lessons) in the book.

Suggested Answers

IDENTIFY EVIDENCE

1. N
2. N
3. S
4. N

EVALUATE EVIDENCE

NIXON

5. Strengths

Primary source

6. Weaknesses

Reason to lie; no other evidence; public statement

DEAN

7. Strengths

Primary source; he might gain by making this story up (lying) but it is hard to see how

8. Weaknesses

No other evidence; public statement

NIXON TAPES

9. Strengths

Primary source; no reason to lie; private recordings

10. Weaknesses

No other evidence

WINTHROP JORDAN

11. Strengths

No reason to lie

12. Weaknesses

Not a primary source; no other evidence; it is public

SACCO

13. Strengths

Primary source; other evidence; testified under oath (more serious if lying)

14. Weaknesses

They might have a reason to lie (prejudice, etc.); it is public.

Evaluate Cause and Effect

15. 1964 Tax Cut

The tax cut is well connected to larger GNP and higher incomes, however, there are other economic factors such as lower interest rates or increased exports that could have led to a larger GNP.

16. 1968 Democratic Convention

There is not much explanation of how the Convention divided the party or how a divided party would lead to the opponents winning. (Although it seems reasonable that if one party is divided the other party will more likely win.) There are a number of other factors, such as the candidates' strengths and weaknesses and the inflation rate, which also affect the outcome.

Evaluate Generalizations

17. 1980 Election Vote

This is undoubtedly from voting results so it is a complete (thus completely representative) sample.

18. Assassination of Kennedy

There was no sample taken, most likely. Thus, it is more like a hunch—a very poor generalization.

Evaluate Comparisons

19. GNP Doubled

It looks impressive, but one difference might be the price of goods and services. If prices also doubled, Americans were not better off. Also, if the population doubled then each American was not, on average, better off. Real, per capita GNP takes in both of these differences, so it is a much better comparative measure of whether Americans were better off.

20. El Salvador and Vietnam

The geography is different, the distance is different, the comparative size of the countries is different, among other differences. This seems like a poor comparison.

Assumptions

21. C

22. B

Identify and Evaluate Types of Reasoning

Reporter and Astronaut

23. C—Comparison

24. The astronaut's analogy to getting the bugs out of a car seems stronger than the reporter's argument of a used spaceship. Listen for students' arguments of similarities (both pieces of technology) and differences (spaceship wears out faster) between cars and spaceships.

New Deal

25. C—Comparison / A—Cause and effect

26. Cause and effect—There is no explanation that the New Deal actually caused these improvements. That is, no connection was made, leaving this as the correlation-as-cause fallacy. There could be other causes for the improvements.

World War I

27. A—Cause and effect

28. Only one cause is offered (single-cause fallacy) and no explanation of how submarines caused us to enter the war.

Tuition Tax Credits

29. C—Comparison

30. There are differences. For example, better education benefits society whereas country clubs are for leisure rather than society's benefit. Students may disagree on how important the differences are.

Democrats and Wars

31. A—Cause and effect / B—Generalization

32. Cause and effect—There is a correlation here but no explanation of a connection between the cause and the effect. It might be, contrary to this argument, that in times of crisis leading to war we tend to elect Democrats for president.

World War I and War of 1812

33. C—Comparison

34. The wars are similar in that both involved American shipping rights as a neutral power during a war. But there are many differences (submarines killed people; impressment, War Hawks). Also, some historians believe the embargo was a key mistake in pushing us into war.

Great Depression

35. A—Cause and effect / B—Generalization

36. Cause and effect—The connection is explained well but there are other possibly more important causes that have not been eliminated.

Identify Types of Reasoning	37.	C
	38.	A
	39.	D
	40.	C/B
	41.	A
Part II Analyze an Argument	42.	C
	43.	A
	44.	A
	45.	C
	46.	A
	47.	Last sentence of paragraph 3
	48.	C
Point of View	49.	A
	50.	B

Additional Critical Thinking Books from Critical Thinking Press & Software

CRITICAL THINKING IN UNITED STATES HISTORY series (grades 8–12) is a set of four student books with coordinated teacher's guides that encourages systematic thinking about historical topics from the exploration of the New World through the Vietnam era.

The four student texts confront the reader with opposing interpretations of historical events written at a high-school vocabulary level. The series focuses upon the skills of evaluating evidence, identifying assumptions, and assessing cause-and-effect arguments to help students analyze the various interpretations.

Each student text contains a guide to critical thinking, introductory lessons, opposing viewpoints, and issues for debate. Each teacher's guide includes reproducible worksheets, detailed lesson plans, answer keys, remedial problems, and test questions.

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